

PORTRAITS
OF
Illustrious Personages
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM
AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY
AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY
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CONTENTS TO VOLUME III.

1. MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1575
From the Collection of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace
2. WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX, - - 1576
From the Collection of the Right Honourable Lord Bagot, at Blythfield.
3. SIR NICHOLAS BACON, - - ZUCCHERO. 1579
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.
4. SIR THOMAS GRESHAM, - - HOLBEIN. 1579
From the Collection in Mercer's Hall, London.
5. HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL, HOLBEIN. 1580
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.
6. JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON, - - 1581
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy
7. THOMAS RADCLYFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX, SIR A. MORE. 1583
From the Collection of William Radclyffe, Esq.
8. EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN, - KETEL. 1584
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.
9. SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, - - SIR A. MORE. 1586
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey
10. MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, - - 1587
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy

CONTENTS.

11. ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER,	- -	1588
<i>From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield.</i>		
12. AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK,	-	1590
<i>From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield.</i>		
13. SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,	- - -	1590
<i>From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knoke.</i>		
14. SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON,	- -	KING. 1591
<i>From the Collection of the Right Honourable Viscount Dillon, at Dutchley.</i>		
15. CARDINAL ALLEN,	- - - -	1591
<i>From the Collection of Browne Mostyn, Esq. at Kaddington.</i>		
16. SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,	- - - -	1595
<i>From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Lothian, at Newbattle Abbey.</i>		
17. PHILIP HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL,	ZUCCHERO.	1595
<i>From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, at Norfolk House.</i>		
18 JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND, OF THIRLESTANE,		1595
<i>From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Lauderdale, at Thirlestane Castle.</i>		
19 WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY,	M GERARD.	1598
<i>From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Exeter, at Burghley House</i>		
20. ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.	HILLIARD.	1601
<i>From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury</i>		



Engraved by W. M.

MATTHEW PARKER ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

OB 1573

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE Church of England owes perhaps more to this wise and good man than to any of the reformers who preceded him, and who may have left a higher fame. They rased to the foundation the vast and venerable edifice of the ancient religion, and hastily erected in its stead a pile of discordant materials, without strength or symmetry; he cemented the unconnected parts, smoothed irregularities, and supplied deficiencies. They were the slaves of a furious and interested tyrant, and of their own yet baser interests; he the honest and incorrupt servant of a prudent sovereign, and the faithful minister of Christianity. They had incurred the suspicion of many by eagerly adopting a new system of faith; he gained the confidence of all by strenuously supporting that in which he had been bred. Their career had been marked by force and persecution; his was distinguished by patience and benignity.

He was born in the parish of St. Saviour, in Norwich, on the sixth of August, 1504, eldest of the three sons of William Parker, a citizen and woollen manufacturer of that town, but of a gentleman's family, or, in other words, of a family bearing armorial ensigns. His mother was Alice, a descendant from the respectable house of Monyns, of Suffolk and Kent. He was well educated for the clerical profession, first in his father's house, and afterwards in the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted in September, 1522, and on the twentieth of the ensuing March was chosen a scholar of Benet, now Corpus Christi, College, a foundation which offered some peculiar advantages to young men born in his city. He remained at Cambridge for twelve years;

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1525, and in 1527 was ordained deacon and priest, elected a fellow of his college, and created master of arts. It is almost needless to observe that the universities at that period ostensibly submitted themselves to the doctrines and the discipline of the Church of Rome; but the reformation was dawning, and Parker was one of many protestant divines, afterwards of great eminence, who met, with little more secrecy than was required by mere decorum, to pave the way for its progress. This disposition, joined to the fame which he had acquired, not only for his talents and erudition, but as an admirable preacher, attracted the notice of the Court, and in 1535 he was suddenly and unexpectedly summoned thither, to take on himself the office of a domestic chaplain to Anne Boleyn, by whom he was soon after presented to the deanery of the college of Stoke Clare, in Suffolk.

After the death of that unfortunate lady he was retained by Henry as one of his own chaplains. In 1538 he took the degree of doctor in divinity; in 1541 obtained a prebend of Ely, and a rectory in that diocese; and in 1544 was elected master of Benet College, and soon after vice-chancellor of the University, which office he served again in the year 1547. Under Edward the sixth he was appointed a prebendary of Lincoln, and in the same month, July, 1552, was elected Dean of that church. In the following year Mary deprived him of all his preferments, but suffered him to remain unmolested in obscurity during her reign.

Elizabeth, on her accession, committed chiefly to Sir Nicholas Bacon, her Lord Keeper, and Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, the arduous task of superintending the infant ecclesiastical establishment. The former of those great men had been the intimate friend and fellow collegian of Parker, and probably first recommended him to the Queen's especial favour; but the raising him, without intermediate steps, to the exalted dignity which awaited him, must have been the result of her own judgment of his character, and of her own private determination

The see of Canterbury had been for nearly a year vacant, when, on the ninth of December, 1558, Bacon signified to Parker the Queen's design to advance him to a Bishopric, which he declined. He was again and again summoned to London by the Lord Keeper and the Secretary, but, under various pretences, constantly refused. It is a curious trait of the simplicity and superstition of the time that Bacon should have ascribed, as appears by Parker's answer to one of that minister's letters, his backwardness to a dread inspired by a prophecy of Nostradamus ; undoubtedly, however, it arose from the modesty and humility of the man, and *Nolo Episcopari* was perhaps never in any other instance uttered with such sincerity of heart—"What with passing those hard years of Mary's reign," says he, in one of his letters to Cecil, published by Strype, "in obscurity, without all conference, or such matter of study as now might do me service; and what with my natural vitiosity of overmuch shamefacedness; I am so abashed in myself that I cannot raise up my heart and stomach to utter in talk with others that which with my pen I can express indifferently without great difficulty." At length, on the twenty-eighth of May, he received the Queen's positive command to repair to her presence, which he obeyed, and received from her his nomination to the Primacy; but his consecration was deferred till the seventeenth of December, and it may be worth observing that the private and simple manner in which that ceremony was conducted gave occasion to a silly report, which the Catholics industriously propagated, that it was performed at a tavern in Cheapside. This was revived by the fanatics, in the beginning of the grand rebellion ; great pains were taken by some churchmen to invalidate the story of the Nag's Head consecration, as it was called ; and they proved by positive evidence, that it took place in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth.

Parker's first care was to secure the independence of the new hierarchy. An act had passed in the late Parliament to enable the Queen, on the vacation of any bishopric, to appropriate to

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

herself such part of its temporalities as she might choose to possess, and to give in exchange such portions of abbey lands, or other estates vested in the Crown, as she might deem equivalent. Convinced that no establishment could be safe whose governors must be subject either to the absolute control of the Crown, or to the reproach of poverty, he laboured earnestly with Elizabeth to persuade her to relinquish this right, and, though she exercised it with respect to his own see soon after he was appointed to preside in it, in a great measure finally succeeded. He swept away gradually, and with a gentle hand, the numerous remains of the Romish system which yet clung to the church, and, to render his efforts palatable to the people, began with the Queen herself. Elizabeth, who still prostrated herself, in her chapel and in her closet, before a crucifix, and was firmly averse to the marriage of priests, yielded those prejudices to the arguments of Parker. He defended the reformation with equal zeal and moderation in a correspondence with the ejected Catholic prelates, and engaged warmly with Calvin in forming a plan for the uniformity of faith and discipline among Protestants throughout Europe, the fruition of which was unhappily prevented by the death of that extraordinary man, whose fame has been unjustly sullied by the subsequent extravagances of the sect which derives its name from him, for Calvin himself was averse neither to monarchy nor episcopacy.

At length it became necessary, for the establishment of the reformed faith, and of an ecclesiastical polity, on known laws, to summon a synod, or convocation, which met on the twelfth of January, 1562. In that assembly Parker proposed the thirty-nine articles which form the code of the Church of England, and of which he may be considered in a great measure as the author, and they were, after the most grave and minute deliberation, enacted. Elizabeth's second Parliament met on the same day, and its first employment was to pass an act "for the assurance of the Queen's power over all estates." This statute was pecu-

liarily aimed at the Papal pretensions, and the oath of supremacy, which had been framed by the preceeding Parliament, was recited in it, and imperatively prescribed to many descriptions of persons, but particularly to the clergy, under the penalty of a premunire for the first refusal, and of the laws against high treason for the second. The Archbishops and Bishops were appointed to administer this oath to ecclesiastics, but Parker foresaw the misery which must follow the rigorous exaction of it, and turned with horror from an engine which could be worked only amidst persecution and bloodshed. He wrote therefore a letter, to be circulated with the utmost secrecy among his brother prelates, to which, with much difficulty, he obtained the Queen's consent, exhorting them not in any case to tender the oath a second time, but, on one refusal, to leave the contumacious party to be dealt with by himself. This excellent letter concluded thus—"Praying your Lordship not to interpret mine advertisement as tending to shew myself a patron for the easing of such evil-hearted subjects which, for divers of them, do bear a perverse stomach to the purity of Christ's religion, and to the state of the realm, thus by God's providence quietly reposed; and which also do envy the continuance of us all, so placed by the Queen's favour as we be; but only in respect of a fatherly and pastoral care, which must appear in us, which be heads of his flocks, not to follow our private affection and hearts, but to provide, coram Deo et hominibus, for saving and winning of others, if it may be obtained." In the end, through his perseverance in this merciful course, that frightful law became nearly a dead letter, and the oath was administered to none of the Popish prelates, or other clergy, except the odious Bonner. Through this, and many other instances of moderation and beneficence towards those unfortunate men, he actually acquired their love. Tostall, and Thirleby, the deprived Bishops of Durham and Norwich, Boxall, late Dean of Windsor, and others, whom the Privy Council had thought fit to commit to his custody, passed the latter years of their lives in his houses,

enjoying a tranquillity perhaps before unknown to them ; guests to his hospitality, and prisoners only to their own gratitude.

From the Romanists, subdued by past severity and succeeding conciliation, the Church of England had now little to dread, when from her own bosom issued a host of enemies yet more formidable. These were the Puritans, as they were then called, whom we have since seen split into so many sects of various denominations. Originally without any specific design, and animated by the simple operation of discontent and folly, they fell furiously on the caps, and hoods, and tippets, of the churchmen, and by an incessant outcry, uttered in the foulest language that ever disgraced the pulpit or the press, at length necessarily called forth the attention of the Primate. He renewed his endeavours to establish an uniformity of worship, and his interference proved but the signal for new murmurs. All the exterior decencies of devotion were reviled as remnants of popery, and ecclesiastical property was viewed merely as the means of supporting spiritual pride. These people had for their chief patron the abandoned Earl of Leicester, and the bickerings which followed between that unworthy favourite and Parker tended much to embitter the remainder of the good man's life. The Archbishop, however, in concert with some other members of the ecclesiastical commission, composed in 1564 certain articles respecting the public administration of the sacraments, and the apparel of the clergy, but the Privy Council, at the instigation of Leicester, refused to confirm them ; he was therefore obliged to publish them on his own authority, and they were utterly disregarded. Amidst these differences he was deeply engaged in superintending that edition of the Scriptures which is known by the name of the Bishops' Bible, because he had allotted a portion to each of the Bishops for his revisal and correction, reserving to himself the final control over the whole.

The last ten years of this excellent prelate's life were passed between vain endeavours to prevent the ascendancy of the

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

Puritans, and to ward off the blows aimed at himself by the courtiers who supported them. Continually thwarted in the execution of his high functions; maligned by a multiplicity of libels; his credit undermined with the people, and, through the intrigues of Leicester and some others, failing with the Queen; he lived in fact under a persecution, and was perhaps saved by death from undeserved impeachment, or at least disgrace. Within a few weeks even before his departure, and probably while he laboured under his last illness, a virulent and wholly undisguised attack was made on him, by printing a translation of the section relating to himself, in a small history in Latin of Benet College and its successive Masters, preserved in manuscript in that house, and stuffing it with the most scurrilous ribaldry in the shape of notes. The character of this vile and vulgar publication may be fairly inferred from its title—"The life off the 70 Archbishopp off Canterbury, presentlye settinge, englished, and to be added to the 69 lately sett forth in Latin This number off seventy is so compleat a number as it is great pitie ther shold be one more; but that as Augustin was the first, so Mathew might be the last." This may serve as a specimen of the innumerable pamphlets of the same cast by which he was about that time assailed.

Archbishop Parker had been long afflicted by the stone, and in March, 1575, experienced a terrible attack of that complaint, which continued for many weeks with little intermission. During his illness he wrote many letters to the Queen and Burghley on the state of the Church, with a fervency which the pains of death even increased. His last letter to the Treasurer concludes with a presage of the awful times which were approaching. "I am not much led," says he, "by worldly prophecy, and yet, I cannot tell how, this old verse recourseth oft to my head—*Fœmina morte cadet, postquam terram mala tangent.*" He died at Lambeth, on the seventeenth of May, and was interred in his private chapel there; but his remains were torn from their grave by the

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

Puritan regicide who then inhabited the archiepiscopal palace, and, with a refinement of brutality, which has been since imitated only by the revolutionary atheists of France, buried in a dung-hill. He married, in 1547, Margaret, daughter of Robert Harleston, of Matsal, in Norfolk. This was the lady to whom Elizabeth, after one of the great banquets given to her by Parker, said, alluding to the untitled dignity of an Archbishop's wife—"And you, Madam I may not call you, and Mistress I am ashamed to call you; so as I know not what to call you, but yet I do thank you." He had by her four sons: John, who married, and established a family in the county of Kent; Matthew, who died an infant; a second Matthew, who also married, but left no posterity; and Joseph, who died a bachelor.

This prelate was profoundly learned, and his erudition was ornamented by a zealous taste for antiquarian research. We are indebted to him for the publication of four of our best early English historians, Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Thomas Walsingham, and Asser, whose *Life of King Ælfred* he printed in Saxon characters, to encourage the study of that tongue. He published, in 1572, the lives of his predecessors in the See of Canterbury, under the title of "*De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, et privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem LXX,*" most of the copies of which want his own life, and it is this work that the libel lately mentioned affects to complete. Doctor Blague, Dean of Rochester, and rector of Lambeth, and some other learned men, are supposed to have largely assisted him in collecting and composing it. He wrote also a *Defence of the Marriages of Priests*; and translated Ælfric's Saxon version of an ancient Latin homily, proving that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was used by the Saxons. The University of Cambridge, and his archiepiscopal houses, afford ample testimony of his munificence and disinterestedness. He founded two fellowships, and ten scholarships, in Benet College (to the library of which he gave his invaluable collection of

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

manuscripts) and a scholarship in Trinity Hall; made many valuable additions to the University library, and large presents of plate to several of the Colleges; and repaired and ornamented the palaces of Canterbury, Lambeth, and Beakesborne, purchasing, at a vast expense, the comfort and convenience of his successors.



Engraved by H. Rolinson

WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX

OB 1576

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} LORD BACON

WALTER DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX.

IN a reign abounding with historical anomalies this nobleman's story is pre-eminently remarkable. Loyal to enthusiasm, but slighted by his Sovereign; of the most spotless honour and integrity, but never trusted; equally distinguished by his skill and bravery in the military profession, to which he had dedicated his life, and uniformly checked in every enterprise he proposed; uniting in his veins the highest blood of the land, and subjected to the mortifying controul of inferiors, in an age too when illustrious birth usually furnished the strongest claim to respect; he sunk into the grave at an early age, at once an ornament and a disgrace to his time, leaving a sad memorial of disregarded merits, and unrequited services.

His birth was indeed very noble, for he descended maternally from the great Houses of Ferrers, Bouchier, and Grey, from the first of which his paternal ancestors had derived the Barony of Ferrers of Chartley, his grandfather, Walter, Lord Ferrers, had been by Edward the Sixth advanced to the title of Viscount Hereford; his father, Sir Richard Devereux, who did not live to enjoy the titles, took to wife Dorothy, daughter of George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, and he was the eldest son of that marriage. He was born about the year 1540, and succeeded to the honours and estates of his family in the nineteenth year of his age, on the death of his grandfather. His good sense, his politeness, and his learning, for he had been excellently educated, placed him for a time, so high in Elizabeth's favour, that she once styled him, in a letter under her own hand, "the rare jewel of her realm, and the bright ornament of her nobility." He was

anxious, however, to build his fame on a larger basis than the graces and accomplishments of a courtier, and eagerly seized the opportunity which the rebellion in the North of 1569 offered to him, at once to render a signal service to his Sovereign, and to establish a military reputation. On that occasion, he joined the Queen's forces with a considerable body of troops, raised and equipped at his own charge, and so contributed materially to the speedy dispersion of the insurgents. He received an especial, though rather deferred, reward, for in 1572 the Earldom of Essex, a dignity which formerly had been held by his ancestors, the Bouchiers, was conferred on him, and that service is particularly stated in the preamble to his patent. Elizabeth thought fit to distinguish his creation by unusual ceremonies, which she concluded by girding on his sword, and placing the coronet on his head, with her own hands. About the same time she gave him the order of the Garter.

In the succeeding year he was enabled to put into practice a plan which, though probably long considered, was less distinguished by its prudence than by a generous spirit of enterprise. Ireland was then the only scene of military operations, and a fierce insurrection reigned, particularly in Ulster. Essex prevailed on the Queen to permit him to volunteer his services there, under a very singular agreement. Brian Mac Phelim, more frequently called "the great O'Neil," a powerful chief, had possessed himself of the most part of the district of Clanhughboy, in that province, from which the Earl undertook to dislodge him, on condition that Elizabeth should grant to the conquerors and their commander, one half of the subdued district, for the defence of which he stipulated to maintain, at his own charge, two hundred horse, and four hundred foot, and, to furnish himself with the means, he borrowed ten thousand pounds of the Queen, on mortgage of his estates in Essex. It has been said, and there seems little reason to doubt it, that the Queen's consent to this romantic expedition was obtained chiefly through the intercession of his

EARL OF ESSEX.

enemy Leicester, who watched his growing favour with a jealous eye, and had used every artifice to flatter and encourage his inclination, and to procure the dispatch to a distance of a rival whom he dreaded. Essex, although perhaps as much distinguished by an acute penetration as by the noble simplicity of his mind, seems to have been unconscious of this design to the last; but he foresaw other difficulties, and set out on his journey with a heavy heart. The two following letters to the Treasurer Burghley, from the originals in the Harleian collection, while they prove that fact, will be found to throw a strong, and very advantageous light on the Earl's character: we find too, in the second no inconsiderable proof of the wisdom of Elizabeth.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L.

I have passed the assurance of v^c lb land to the Quene's Ma^{te}, after suche sort as her Ma^{te}'s Counsell hathe devised, as shall appere unto you by M^r Attorney's certificat I shall nowe desyre your L. to send your warrant to S^r Thom^s's Gresham for delyvery of the moneye unto me. My L. Chamberlen told me yesterday that he hathe sent unto your L. the articles touching the comission for govⁿement of the contrey for a tyme, and of those I carry wth me I praye your L. after you have considered of them, to direct your warrant for the making of the comission. Yf your L. do not come shortli unto the Court, I shall desyre you to wryte to my L. Chamberlen, and my Lord of Leicester, to further my dispatche. I have vearie greate busynes to do in the contrey after I have done here, and therefore wold I be gladlie dispatched hence. I meane not to tarry long after my patent and comission are sealed.

I here y^t your L. rides to your house at Burghley. I desyre that I maye knowe the tyme of your returne to the Court, or to your house at Theobalds. Yf your L. do not returne before the last of this monethe, I will then wayte upon you at Burghley. I do, my Lord, make my reconyng of your L. to be my assured

pillar; and if I did not hope that, assuredlie I wold not have taken the jorney in hand, if the Quene had given me the x thowsand poundes she lent me. I loke for to find enymyes enoughe to this enterprise, and I feele of some of them alredye. I praye your L, that you will, when your leysure will serve you, set downe what course you thinck beste for me to take for the order of those people I carry w^t me, and fynd there. As I do onlye repose my truste uppon you, so will I be only directed by you.

When your L. wrytes unto my Lord Deputie of Ireland I praye you that you will desyre his favour and furtherance to me in this enterprise. He shall fynd me as ready to do any service there to her Majestie, undernethe him, and to get any honor unto him, as he shall fynd any man. He is a gentleman whom I have ev^r loved, and lyked well of, and I have good hope I shall fynd him my frend; and yet some suspic^on have I had of late of yt, by reason of some speche that hath passed from his nere frends.

Thus, resting ev^r at yo^r L' comandement, I shall comyt you to the Lord From Duresme Place, this xxii of June, 1573.

Your Lordship's at comaundement,

W. ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L.

Yesterday I was at the Courte, and dyd take my leave of her Ma^{tie}. She hathe signed all my books, and I am dep^ted from her Ma^{tie} w^t verie good words, and promyse of her favour and furtherance to this enterprise. Uppon the taking of my leave, she told me that she had two speciall things to advise me of: the one was that I should have considerac^on of the Irishe there, whiche she thought had become her disobedient subjects rather because they have not byn defended from the force of the Scotts then for any other cause. Her Ma^{tie}'s opynion was that, uppon my comyng, they wold yeld themselves good subjects, and therefore wyshed them to be well used. To this, my L., I answered that I determyned to deale so wth them as I shuld fynd beste for

her service when I came there; and, for the present, I could not saye what is beste to be done, but this her Ma^{tie} shold be sure of; that I wold not imbrue my hands w^h more blud than the necessity of the cause requireth. The other speciall matter was that I shuld not seeke too hastely to bring people that hathe byn trayned in another religion from that w^{ch} they have been brought uppe in. To this I answered that, for the present, I thought it was best to lerne them to knowe ther aliegence to her Ma^{tie}, and to yeld her their due obedience; and, after they had lerned that, they wold be easily brought to be of good religion. Muche more speches besids passed betweene her Ma^{tie} and me, whiche were of no greate importance, and therfore I wryte them not to yo^r L.

I am, my L. dep^ted from the Court w^t many good and fayre promises of diverse, but of the p^rformance of them I knowe not what assurance I may make. I repose my onlie truste uppon your L. Your honorable dealing w^t me, both in this, and at all tymes before, hathe byn suche as hath bound me ever to be at your L' comandement. And so I rest, and humbly take my leave of yo^r L. From Duresme House, this xxth of Julie, 1573.

At your L' comandement,

W. ESSEX.

On the sixteenth of August following he embarked at Liverpool, accompanied by the Lords Darcy and Rich, and many other persons of distinction, together with a multitude of volunteers of inferior rank, who followed his fortune in the hope of mending their own. They were disappointed; and abandoned him soon after his arrival in Ireland, and this was the first of the long series of misfortunes which attended his expedition. Weakened by their defection, he besought the Queen to let him prosecute the service in her name, and under her command, and offered to discharge a moiety of the expence from his own purse, but his request was denied. He then applied to Sussex, Leicester, and Burghley, to induce her to aid his diminished force with one hundred hoise,

and six hundred foot, but that too was refused. In the mean time his chagrin was increased by the malice of the Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam. Elizabeth, whose sagacity had foreseen the probable jealousy of that officer, had endeavoured to avert it by leaving to him the honour of granting the Earl's commission, the delivery of which he contemptuously delayed for many months. When Essex received it, he was earnestly employed in fortifying Clanhughboy, which in fact was the main object of his plan; but the messenger brought him positive orders from the Deputy to abandon immediately that part of the Island, and to pursue the Earl of Desmond. He obeyed, in silent grief, and had the good fortune, rather by persuasion than force, to reduce that formidable chief to submission. He gained great honour in this, and indeed in all the conduct of his first campaign, yet, says Camden, "with these actions was the year well nigh spent in Ireland, to no man's advantage, but to Essex's great damage."

Convinced, thus early, that all his endeavours would be sacrificed to the envy of the Deputy, and the secret influence of Leicester, and doubtful of the ability of his force to cope with the enemy, he requested permission in the beginning of the following year to treat with their leader, and was refused. He then surrendered his government of Ulster, was soon after suddenly obliged by the Deputy to resume it, and once more to march far from thence against the insurgents, to whom, when he unexpectedly found himself on the point of subduing them, he was peremptorily instructed to offer terms of peace. Still he obeyed. He concluded a treaty, even honourable to his Sovereign and to himself; and again returned into Ulster, which, in his absence, had been invaded by the Hebridian Scots. He presently dispossessed them of the tract of country which they had gained, and pursued them to their own islands, on which he was establishing military posts, when, without the assignment of any reason for so cruel an insult, he was deprived of his command, and required to serve at the head only of three hundred men, with the mere

title of their captain. Elizabeth felt for his hardships, and indeed may be considered as having shared in his indignities; but, such was her blind submission to the will of the detestable Leicester, that she durst not openly protect him. In the midst of his vexations of this year, Burghley, whose friendship for him Essex appears to have justly estimated, vainly recommended it to her to appoint him to succeed his enemy, Fitzwilliam, in the office of Lord Deputy—a new circumstance in his story, which is communicated to us by the following letter, from an original in the same collection with those before inserted, abounding with indirect allusions to the misconduct of that officer.

MY GOOD LORDE,

Yt greaveth me that I shoulde so often trouble yo^r L. as I doe, but necessitie doth compell me, for I finde none whoe is carefull of myselfe, or my a^ctions, but yo^r selfe. I wille not trouble your L. wth a longe discourse of the state of things here, but wille referre you to the l^res written to my L L of the Counsaill.

We have expected here the cominge of S^r Henrye Sydney theise two monethes, but that brute beginneth now to dye. Suerly my L. the daylie lookinge for of a chaunge dothe great harme; for duringe this interim is the greatest spoile comitted, because all the ylle disposed now robbe and steale, hopinge that the newe governor will pardon all done before his tyme. God send us shortlie a settled governor, and such a one as is fytt for Ireland, not Ireland fytt for him. This people waxe proude: yea, the best might be amended: all nede correction.

I understand by divers of my freinds that your L. hathe both wished and laboured to place me in this unfortunate office. There is juste cause whie I shoulde thinke myselfe moste depelie bounde to you for yt, for I knowe yo^r L. wishethe yt for my good; but the feare of envie, and of evill assistaunce, dothe so much discourage me to take yt, as I assure you, my L., I wishe yt rather to any man that were 'fytt for it then to myselfe. I knowe

WALTER DEVEREUX,

that as the enterteinm^t is honorable, so is the charge great, and the burden hevie, and whoe shall serve the Q. and his countrie faithfullie shall have his payne a rewarde for his travaile: but, yf he wille respect his gayne more then his Prince, countrie, or honestie, then may he make his gayne unmercifull.

Because I will shortlie send againe, I will not trouble your L. longer, but wille conclude wth my humble thanks for the money w^{ch} yo^r L. hathe p[~]cured me, w^{ch} I assure you was muche nedded. God preserve yo^r L. longe in healthe and honor. From the Newrye, the 28 of August, 1574.

Your L' most bounden,

W. Essex.

Having remonstrated in vain, both to the Queen and the Privy Council, by letters equally spirited and judicious, which may be found in Collins's Sidney Papers, he returned to England in the spring of the following year. He had been long apprised of Leicester's treachery towards him, and now gave vent to his indignation, with all the courage and candour which belonged to his character; yet that prodigious hypocrite not only found means to appease him, but even dared to proffer his friendship, and, in the end, persuaded Essex to grasp at the deceitful phantom. He was induced once more to return to Ireland, with general promises of better usage, and more extensive powers; and with the dignified but inefficient office of Earl Marshal in that Kingdom, granted to him at Leicester's special intreaty. On his arrival there, however, he found the same baleful influence still prevailing against him. All his councils were slighted; all his active endeavours thwarted; all his motives misrepresented. He survived but few months. Those who had spared no pains to blast all his views of honour and happiness industriously reported that he died of a broken heart, or, in other words, of a dysentery produced by grief. They certainly were best qualified to draw that inference from their own conduct; but the rumour was discredited.

The strongest suspicions of poison had been excited; and his friends, who indeed composed the nation, for no man was more generally beloved and admired, pointed with one accord at Leicester as the murderer. Three minutely particular accounts of his illness are extant in print; the first, in the pamphlet called *Leicester's Commonwealth*; the second, which has been attributed to Essex's beloved and faithful retainer, Sir Edward Waterhouse, in Hearne's preface to his edition of Camden's *Annals*; and the third, in a letter from Sir Henry Sidney, at that time Lord Deputy, to Sir Francis Walsingham, in the *Sidney Papers*. The first and the last of these may be reasonably suspected of opposite partiality. The object of the one was to load Leicester's memory with every possible imputation; that of the other, to screen it from censure. Sidney, indeed, was married to Leicester's sister, and it detracts nothing from his most honourable character, that he should have laboured to avert from his brother in law so horrible a charge. Waterhouse's very curious narrative, (if it were his) is given with great candour. The opinion, however, of the writer may be inferred from the words with which it commences. "Walter, the noble Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of Ireland, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter, falling sick on a laske, as it was supposed, called Dysenteria, through adustion of choler, on Friday the twenty first of August (or whether it were of any other accident, the living God knoweth, and will revenge it) he was grievously tormented by the space of twenty two days," &c. If this account be correct, of which there seems little room to doubt, the Earl died on the eleventh or twelfth of September, 1576; Dugdale, however, citing good authority, fixes his death to the twenty second of that month. He was buried at Caermarthen, the place of his nativity.

Walter, Earl of Essex, married Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knollys, K. G. and left issue by her two sons; Robert, his successor, the accomplished, imprudent, and unfortunate favourite of Elizabeth; and Walter; and two daughters; Penelope, first

WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

married to Robert, Lord Rich, afterwards to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire; and Dorothy, wife, first, of Sir Thomas Perrot, secondly, of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Some considerable time following the Earl's death had elapsed when it was suddenly discovered, to the astonishment and disgust of the nation, and in confirmation of former suspicions, that Leicester had privately married the widowed Countess almost immediately after the decease of her ill-fated consort.



SIR NICHOLAS BACON

OP. 159

FROM THE OBJECT OF ZUCCHETTI THE COLLECTOR

HIS GRACE THE DUK OF BEDFORD

En la Biblioteca de la Universidad de la Ciudad de Madrid

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

FULLER, Lloyd, and other professed dealers in florid characters, have given this gentleman credit for the most exalted talents and acquirements. Careless as such writers are of fact, it would be too much to ascribe these encomiums merely to imagination, but certainly the history of the memorable period during a great part of which he held one of the first offices in the state passes him over with very little notice, and even the meagre intelligence which it affords us of him is frequently confused by misrepresentation and inconsistency. It may be gathered however that he was mild, prudent, and unambitious; qualities which should bespeak rather an honest than a splendid fame; that he sought rather to be a useful minister than a refined politician; that he loved retirement, and rural occupations, and possessed the temper and the faculties which make men agreeable to themselves and to others in the intercourse of private life; and that the maxim which he chose for his motto probably denoted the character of his mind, as well as regulated his conduct—"Mediocria Firma."

He was the second son of Robert Bacon, of Drinkston, in Suffolk, a descendant from a family of respectable antiquity in that county, by Isabella, daughter of John Gage, of Pakenham, also in Suffolk, and was born at Chiselhurst, in Kent, in the year 1510. Of his education we know only that it was completed at Bennet College in Cambridge, or rather at Paris, whither he went for some time on leaving the university: on his return he studied the law in Gray's Inn, and is said to have been distinguished at an early age, as well for his extensive knowledge of it as for his eloquence at the bar. We have no account of the circumstances which introduced him to public employment, but there can be little doubt that he was one among the many subordinate agents

in the reformation. He had been bred in the new mode of faith, and professed it through his life with a warmth of zeal scarcely consistent with the placidity of his character. The first favours too which he received from the Crown were derived from that great fund on which Henry usually charged the rewards of such persons, for they consisted in a grant of the manors of Botesdale, and Gillingham, and the manor and Park of Redgrave, portions of the estate of the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. These were conferred on him in 1544, and he was about the same time appointed Solicitor to the Court of Augmentation, and two years after Attorney to the Court of Wards. We have no further intelligence of him during that reign, except that he formed, and presented to the King, a plan for the foundation of a great college, which was designed to embrace all subjects of modern learning, and to be devoted, as it should seem, to the education of those designed for the service of the state. Its main objects were to cultivate the utmost purity in the knowledge of the Latin and French tongues; to read and debate in those languages on all subjects of public policy; and to form historical collections and treatises regarding general systems of government, and their several practical features of domestic management and foreign negotiation, and the students were at length to be perfected in these arts by travelling in the suites of the King's foreign ministers. It is almost needless to say that the scheme was never put into execution.

He passed the reign of Edward the sixth without further promotion, and that of Mary without persecution. Elizabeth, in her first year, 1558, gave him the custody of the Great Seal, with the style of Lord Keeper, by a patent dated on the twenty-second of December, and soon after knighted him, and admitted him of her Privy Council. It is highly probable, not to disparage his professional merits, that he owed this sudden and splendid advancement in a great measure to the friendship of Cecil, with whom he lived in much intimacy and confidence, and whose

wife's sister he had married; and that it was through the same influence that the Queen, and at length the Parliament, were afterwards induced to invest his office, for the first time, with all the authorities and privileges of the Chancellorship, the faculties of his predecessors in the place of Lord Keeper having extended little further than to the mere sealing of patents. He gained, and very deservedly, much credit by his judicious treatment, in Elizabeth's first Parliament, of the great question of her legitimacy, and it was under his auspices that two bills were passed, the one for recognizing her title to the Crown, the other for restoring her in blood as heir to her mother, silently leaving untouched the act by which her father had bastardized her. On this policy Fuller, to give him his due, says well—"He was condemned by some who seemed wise, and commended by those who were so, for not causing that statute to be repealed whereby the Queen was made illegitimate, for this wise statesman would not open that wound which time had partly closed, and would not meddle with the variety, yea contrariety, of statutes in this kind, whereby people would rather be perplexed than satisfied, but derived her right from another statute, which allowed her succession, the rather because lawyers maintain that a crown once worn cleareth all defects of the wearer thereof," a doctrine too desperate to be resorted to but in extreme cases, and Elizabeth's was then of that description.

He was appointed in the beginning of the following year to preside at the conference held before the two Houses of Parliament between the leading clergy of the two churches on their main points of difference, an office for which he was very unfit, being, as Camden in speaking of it observes, "a very indifferent divine, and a professed enemy to the papists." This debate, which was instituted with no other motive than to impress on the minds of Elizabeth's subjects of both persuasions a notion of her impartiality and candour, was of course abortive. The protestants entered on it with the haughtiness of anticipated triumph, and

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

the catholics refused to engage in any discussion to which the Pope's supremacy was not made a preliminary. They desired to retire, and Bacon, after repeatedly urging them in vain to go on, dismissed them with this indirect threat—"for that ye will not that we should hear you, perhaps you may shortly hear of us." Some of them were accordingly committed soon after to the Tower, and the rest were bound to appear before the Privy Council, and to remain within the limits of London and Westminster.

His steady aversion to popery, joined to the legal acuteness and uprightness with which he administered the affairs of his court, and the regular method which he introduced into the deliberations of the Privy Council, placed him high in Elizabeth's favour. "She relied on him," says Camden, "as the very oracle of the law." He avoided as much as possible any concern in political intrigues, but the family connection lately mentioned, as well as his own inclination and judgement, led him to act with what was called the Cecilian party; and this bias, joined to a bitter dislike to the Queen of Scots, chiefly on the score of her religion, induced him to oppose with imprudent openness not only the proposal for a marriage between that Princess and the favourite Leicester, but also the arguments for her succession to the throne, both of which Elizabeth seemed for the time inclined to countenance. Leicester became hereupon his implacable enemy, and accused him to the Queen of having been concerned, as indeed he probably was, in the composition of a tract, published in 1564, under the name of John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, with the title of "A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England," in which the right was asserted to be in the issue of the Earl of Hertford by the Lady Catherine Grey, a doctrine peculiarly odious to Elizabeth. Hales was committed to the Fleet prison, and then to the Tower, and Bacon was forbade the Court, deprived of his seat in the Privy Council and restricted from any concern in public affairs beyond those of the Court of Chancery, from which also Leicester used his utmost

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

efforts to persuade the Queen to remove him. He remained for many months in disgrace, and wrote during that interval a sort of recantation, which will be presently more particularly mentioned, in which he asserted the right of succession in the line of Stuart, still however stoutly insisting on the exclusion of Mary. At the earnest intercession, as our historians say, of Cecil he was at length restored to the exercise of his former functions, and to the Queen's favour, which for the remainder of his life he enjoyed without interruption.

The fact probably is, that the true motive to Elizabeth's esteem for him may be ascribed to his inveteracy against Mary; and that his temporary suspension, and her seeming anger, were mere artifices used to appease the vexation of Leicester, and to silence the importunities of the Scottish ambassador, the Bishop of Rosse, who had loudly demanded justice against the authors and patrons of the tract in question. He was placed at the head of the second commission appointed in 1568 to hear Murray's charges against the Queen of Scots; and the meeting in 1571 of Elizabeth's ministers and Mary's delegates, at which it was demanded, as the price of Mary's liberty, that some of the chief nobility, and principal fortresses of Scotland, should be placed in Elizabeth's hands, was held in his house, where, the Scots objecting to these proposals, Bacon broke up the conference, exclaiming, says Camden—"all Scotland, your Prince, nobles, and castles, are too little to secure the Queen, and the flourishing kingdom of England." It is scarcely necessary to observe that this mode of dealing was exactly suited to Elizabeth's taste. In the following year the papists endeavoured to avenge Mary's cause, and their own, by the publication in France of a most bitter pamphlet, with the title of "A Treatise of Treason," in which they charged Bacon as "a traitor to the state of England," and loaded him with every sort of obloquy. This libel, which was carefully dispersed in every part of England, was so highly resented by Elizabeth that she condescended to justify him, and others of her

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

ministers who were vilified in it, by a special proclamation, and commanded that all the copies of the book should be forthwith given up under severe penalties, and burned. With regard to his public life we have no further communication.

He built a mansion on his estate of Redgrave, and another at Gorhambury, near St. Albans, to which last he added gardens of great extent, in the contrivance and decoration of which every feature of the bad taste of his time was abundantly lavished. It was at the former of these houses that Elizabeth, making him a visit, and having observed that it was too small for him, he answered, "No, Madam, my house is not too small for me, but your Majesty has made me too great for my house." Doubtless he meant, in the quaint spirit of that day, which always strained a jest too far, to give his repartee the advantage of a double allusion, for he was, it seems, enormously bulky; and it is most singular that Camden in the short but grave character which he has left us of the Lord Keeper's mind should have commenced by mentioning that defect in his person—"Vir præpinguis, ingenio acerrimo, singulari prudentiâ, summa eloquentiâ, tenaci memoriâ, et sacris conciliis alterum columen." It is recorded indeed by his own pen, in the commencement of the rough draft of a letter to Elizabeth, remaining in the Harleian Collection, the terms of which may serve too as an apology for the opinion which I have presumed to hint of the mediocrity of his talents—"My most gracious Sovereign; I will, wth all humblenes pray pardon of your Ma^{te} that I presume by I^{res} to doe that w^{ch} bounden dutie and service requireth to be done in p'sone. Oh, good Madame, not of an unwilling harte and mynde, but of an unhable and unweldie bodie, is the onely cause of this; and yet the bodie, suche as it is (as alegiance and a number benefits binds) every day, yea and every howere, is and shalbe readie, at yo^r Highnes' commaundement, and so should they be, if I had as good as any man hathe," &c.

He endowed his college with six scholarships, and gave more

than a hundred manuscripts to its library. Only two publications appear to be extant from his pen; the one entitled “Arguments exhibited in Parliament, whereby it is proved that the Persons of Noblemen are attachable by Law for Contempts committed in the High Court of Chancery,” 4to, 1641; and the other, on a subject which has been already here spoken of—“The Right of Succession to the Crown of England in the Family of the Stuarts, exclusive of Mary Queen of Scots, asserted and defended against Sir Anthony Browne.” This latter tract, which did not appear till 1723, professes to have been published from the original manuscript by Nathaniel Booth, of Gray’s Inn, Esq.

He died on the twentieth of February, 1579. Mallet, in his life of the great Bacon, tells us, without stating his authority, that Sir Nicholas, being “under the hands of his barber, and the weather very sultry, had ordered a window before him to be thrown open. As he was become very corpulent, he presently fell asleep in the current of fresh air that was blowing in on him, and awaked after some time, distempered all over. ‘Why,’ said he to the servant, ‘did you leave me thus exposed?’ The fellow replied that he durst not presume to disturb him. ‘Then,’ said the Lord Keeper, ‘by your civility I lose my life;’ and so removed into his bedchamber, where he died a few days after.” He was buried in St. Paul’s cathedral, under a superb monument, erected by himself, inscribed with the following lines by the hand of George Buchanan—

Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum,
 Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
 Regni secundum columnen, exitium malis,
 Bonis asyllum, cæca quem non extulit
 Ad hunc honorem sors, sed æquitas, fides,
 Doctrina, pietas, unica et prudentia.
 Neu morte raptum crede, quia unica brevi
 Vita perennes emeruit duas agit
 Vitam secundam cælites inter animus.
 Fama implet orbem vita quæ illi tertia est.
 Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
 Ara dicata sempiternæ memoriæ.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

He married, first, Jane, daughter of William Ferneley, of West Creting, in Suffolk, by whom he had three sons; Sir Nicholas, who was the first Baronet created on the institution of that order; Nathaniel, of Stiffkey, in Norfolk; and Edward, of Shrubland Hall, in Suffolk; and three daughters: Anne, wife of Sir Henry Wodehouse, of Waxham, in Norfolk; Jane, married first to Sir Francis Wyndham, a Judge of the Common Pleas, secondly, to Sir Robert Mansfield; and Elizabeth, who was thrice married, first to Sir Robert D'Oyley, of Chiselhampton, in Oxfordshire; secondly, to Sir Henry Nevil; thirdly, to Sir William Periam, a Baron of the Exchequer. Sir Nicholas married, secondly, Anne, daughter and coheir of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidea Hall, in Essex, and sister of Lady Burghley, by whom he had two sons; Anthony; and Francis, the chancellor, the philosopher, and the great honour and disgrace to his name and family.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM

OB 1579

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN IN THE COLLECTION AT

MERCERS HALL LONDON

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

IT has been reported that this great Patriarch of commerce, and of commercial finance, issued from the lowest origin, nay even that he was a foundling. An old woman, says this tradition, who was led by the chirping of grasshoppers to the spot where he was exposed, carried him to her cottage, and nursed him, and therefore he chose a grasshopper for his crest. It is inconceivable how such silly falsehoods can gain currency in the face of facts of extensive notoriety. He was descended from a family of respectable antiquity and possessions in Norfolk, which derived its name from that of the parish in which it had originally been seated. His father, Sir Richard, and his uncle, Sir John, who were the third and fourth sons of his grandfather, John Gresham of Holt, in that county, were bred to trade ; acquired great wealth ; and each of them served the offices of alderman and Lord Mayor. He was the third and youngest son of Sir Richard Gresham, by his first wife, Audrey, daughter of William Lynn, of Southwick, in Northamptonshire, and was born in the year 1519.

His father had for many years exercised the employment in which he himself became afterwards so conspicuous, that of agent for the Crown with the trading interest, or as it was called, King's Merchant, an office of the highest importance and trust, inasmuch as it united the duty of raising money for the royal occasions by private loans with that of protecting and cherishing the sources from which they were derived. In this, as well as in his own great commercial concerns, it is pretty evident that he designed his son Thomas for his successor, especially as he was regularly bound an apprentice to his uncle Sir John, and afterwards admitted into the Mercers' company ; yet he was bred a scholar, and acquired no mean fame in the University of Oxford, since Dr. Caius in his

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

annals of Gonville and Caius College, says of him “ *Una nobiscum per juventutem hujus Collegii pensionarius erat Thomas Gresham, nobilis ille et doctissimus mercator, qui forum mercatorium Londini extruxit,*” &c. On the death of his father however, which occurred in 1548, Edward the sixth’s Council appointed a Sir William Dansell to the office of royal money agent, who took up his residence in that character at Antwerp, where the trade and wealth of our part of Europe was at that time in a manner monopolised, and from whence the supplies which the profuseness of the preceding reign had rendered so needful had been from time to time drawn, under circumstances of disadvantage to the Crown, which resulted rather from an imperfect knowledge of a right œconomy in the negociation of loans than from any inclination to fraud or carelessness. Dansell continued there for a short time, with so little benefit to the King’s affairs that it was found necessary to send him letters of recal, which he disobeyed, and Gresham who, with other merchants, had been called before the Privy Council to advise on the best means of discharging the King’s debts, and of procuring future supplies, was sent to Antwerp to supersede him, and presently acquired the highest credit, both there and at home, by the activity, prudence, and fidelity, which distinguished his performance of the duties of his office.

On the accession of Mary, probably on the score of religion, for he seems to have been a zealous protestant, he was dismissed from this employment. Conscious however that his abilities to execute it were unrivalled, and fearful that the fruition of his projects should be delayed by the mismanagement of ignorant competitors, he ventured instantly to present to the Queen a memorial stating, with a boldness of expression very unusual at that time, his services to her late brother, and conceived with such force and dexterity that, while it concluded without any direct request, it left her scarcely at liberty to do otherwise in common prudence than to re-instate him. This curious piece, which is of great length, has fortunately been preserved, and it would be difficult to give a clearer

idea of the nature of his services, or of the mode in which he performed them, than by citing some extracts from it in his own words. Having stated diffusely the circumstances which, as has been here already observed, led to his appointment by King Edward, whose debts in this way of private contract he says amounted at that time to two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, he proceeds thus—

“ Before I was called to serve there was no other ways devised to bring the King out of debt but to transport the treasure out of the realme, or else by way of exchange, to the great abasing of the exchange, for a pound of our current money then brought in value but sixteen shillings Flemish ; and for lack of payment there at the days appointed, to preserve his Majesty’s credit with all, to prolong time also upon interest, which interest, besides the loss of the exchange, amounteth unto forty thousand pounds by year ; and in every such prolongation his Majesty was enforced to take great part in jewels or wares, to his extreme loss and damage , of which forty thousand pounds loss for interest yearly I have by my travail clearly discharged the said King every penny, without which prevention the Queen’s Majesty had been indebted at this her entry into the imperial Crown the sum of four hundred thousand pounds ; besides the saving of the treasure within the realm ; without taking of jewels or wares, to the King’s disadvantage. Whereas at the time of my entry into the office I found the exchange at sixteen shillings the pound, I found the means nevertheless, without any charge to the King, or hindrance of any other, to discharge the King’s whole debts as they grew due, at twenty shillings, and two and twenty shillings the pound ; whereby the King’s Majesty, and now the Queen, hath saved one hundred thousand marks clear. By reason that I raised the exchange from sixteen shillings unto two and twenty shillings, whereunto it yet remaineth, all foreign commodities be fallen, and sold after the same value, to the enriching of the subjects of the realm, in small process of time, above three or four hundred thousand pounds.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

It is assuredly known that when I took this service in hand the King's Majesty's credit on the other side was small : and yet afore his death he was in such credit, both with strangers and his own merchants, that he might have had what sum of money he had desired, whereby his enemies began to fear him, for his commodities of his realm, and power amongst Princes, was not known before ; which credit the Queen's Highness hath obtained, if she were in necessity for money at this present day. To the intent to work this matter secretly for the raising of the exchange I did only use all my own credit with my substance and friends. To the intent to prevent the merchants, both strangers and English, who always lay in wait to prevent my devices when the exchange fell to raise it again, I bare some one time loss of my own monies, as the King's Majesty and his Council well knew, two or three hundred pounds, and this was divers times done ; besides the credit of fifty thousand pounds which I took by exchange in my own name, without using the King's name. For the accomplishment of the premises I not only left the realm, with my wife and family, my occupying and whole trade of living, by the space of two years, but also posted in that time forty times, upon the King's sending, at the least, from Antwerp to the Court ; besides the practising to bring these matters to effect ; the infinite occasion of writing also to the King and his Council ; with the keeping of reckonings and accompts only by my own hand writing, for mistrust in so dangerous a business of preventers, whereof were store too many ; until I had clearly discharged all the foresaid debt, to the great benefit of the realm, and profit of the Queen ; for in case this debt had been let alone, and deferred upon interest four years or five, her Majesty should have found it amount to fifteen hundred thousand pounds at the least, which, God be praised, is ended, and therefore careless at this day."

Having thus recited his services, he demands an audience of the Queen ; for, says he, "nevertheless hitherto do I perceive that those which served before me, which brought the King in-debt,

and took wares and jewels up to the King's great loss, are esteemed and preferred for their evil service, and contrarywise, myself discountenanced and out of favour for my diligence and good service taken to bring the King and Queen's Highness out of debt clear, which understanding of my service that her Majesty may take in good part is as much as I required." Edward had not been ungrateful to him. "It pleased the King's Majesty," adds he, "to give unto me one hundred pounds, to me and my heirs for ever, three weeks before his death, and promised me then with his own mouth that he would hereafter see me rewarded better, saying, 'I should know that I served a King.'" Why he chose to mention this trifling gift, and to be silent as to the valuable grants of a monastic estate in the county of Caermarthen, and of the reversion of the priory of Westacre in Norfolk, both which he received in that reign, it is not easy to conceive. His memorial, aided probably by interest, was successful: Mary restored him to his post, which he filled during the whole of her reign; and Elizabeth continued him in it, with increased favour, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on him soon after her accession.

Numerous details of his negotiations remain in our public collections, and in the cabinets of the curious, but the ordinary transactions of a mercantile agent, however enlarged, can possess little to recommend them to general attention. He became enormously wealthy when he had scarcely passed the prime of life. He had married early, and his wife brought him an only son, whom he had the great misfortune to lose, at the age of sixteen, in 1564. The enthusiasm which in minds above the common character attends acute grief produces sometimes extraordinary consequences. Gresham, immediately after the death of his son, determined on the execution of a grand design, which is said to have been conceived by his father, to erect at his own expense a public edifice, after the fashion of the great commercial cities of the continent, for the meeting of the merchants of London, who

had been used to transact their business, exposed to the weather, in Lombard Street, or, most indecently, in Saint Paul's Cathedral. In aid of this splendid purpose the corporation purchased and removed eighty houses, which then stood on the site of the projected building, and gave him regular possession of the ground, and towards the end of the year 1567 the Royal Exchange, or, as it was first called, "Britain's Bourse," was completed and opened for use; a monument almost unparalleled to the generosity of a private individual. It was destroyed in the great fire of 1666, but a very correct judgement of its magnificence, and of the great charge of its erection, may be formed from the building, yet remaining, by which the city, and the company of mercers, immediately replaced it, with very little deviation from the original plan, at the expense of eighty thousand pounds. Nor was he inattentive to those ostentations which were by no means unbecoming in one who stood confessedly at the head of the important class to which he belonged. He had already built, for his own residence, in Bishopsgate Street, a noble mansion, of which it will be necessary presently to speak further, and soon after added to the great purchases that he had made in many other parts of the kingdom, that beautiful and well-known estate near London, called Osterley Park, which he planted and inclosed, and erected in it another spacious and stately house. In each of these residences he had more than once the honour of entertaining Elizabeth and her court; and it was in one of her visits to Osterley that, the Queen having observed that the quadrangle within the building was too large, he sent instantly to London for workmen, who, with equal expedition and secrecy, divided it in the course of the same night by building a wall, which when Elizabeth rose she was astonished to find completed, in strict conformity to her criticism—a refined gallantry exactly to her taste.

Gresham indeed seems to have possessed much of the refinement of a courtier, and more of the sagacity of a politician. In his frequent journeys to the Low Countries he had made acute

observations on the Spanish policy, and had gained much important intelligence. Elizabeth's ministers, particularly Cecil, courted his advice on many matters, and gave him no small share of their confidence. Thus in 1568, during a great scarcity of coin in England, a large Biscayan ship, which was conveying a great sum in gold and silver to the Duke of Alva for the payment of his troops, having been chased into the harbour of Plymouth, Gresham, who had received intelligence that the money was not the property of the King of Spain, but had been wrested by him from certain merchants of Genoa, apprised Cecil of that fact, and persuaded him to seize it, and send it to the mint, giving security however to the Spanish ambassador to repay the amount when it should be made to appear to whom of right it belonged. Cecil reluctantly complied, and advised Elizabeth accordingly, and the Duke of Alva, enraged and disappointed, caused all the English at Antwerp to be arrested, an outrage which was immediately retaliated on the Spaniards then in London. Cecil, who abhorred violent measures, became alarmed, and was with some difficulty appeased by Gresham's assurance that any future foreign loans to the Crown might be as advantageously negotiated at Hamburgh as at Antwerp, but that it might be reasonably expected that the readiness of our own merchants to make advances would render them unnecessary. An original letter of great curiosity from Gresham to Cecil, in which all these points are touched on, is in the Lansdowne collection, in the British Museum. Stowe, who had by some means obtained a perusal of it, has given large extracts from it, almost verbatim, in his Survey of London; and the authors of the Biographia Britannica, quoting Stowe, represent them, from what motive it is not easy to guess, as arguments used by Gresham in a personal conference with the Minister. The letter has a peculiar claim to be inserted in this memoir in its full integrity.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

“ Right honorable Sr.

This morning I have receaved yo^{rs}. with my l^{res}, by my s^rvaunt, wherbie I do perceyve that the monneye whiche remanith in my hands of Sr. Will^m Garrard, and for the armur, must be paid to the m^rchautes, wherin I shall p^{ce}de with paiment of half their som^{es} until further yo^r. pleas^r. be knowen, for the whiche it maie please you to send me the Q.^r Ma^{tie}. warraunt. And, whereas yo^r. Honnor doth now think some difficulte to paie any monney to the Q.^r Ma^{tie}. creditors beyond the seas, Sr., in my opinion youe neede not to make any dowt therof yf her Highnes do see her m^rchaunts well paid here in London this first somme, for bie that tyme the other monney shalbe paiable hear bie the Q.^r Ma^{tie}. to her said m^rchaunts they shall have both plenty of monney at Hamboroughe and heare; assuring you the goodes that o^r. m^rchautes hathe shipped from Hambrough hither is well worth c^{mi}. and better; and the shiping that they make now from hens w^t. o^r. comodityes is richely worthe vii c^{mi}., and better, for that ther wilbe above xxx^{mi}. clothes, the custom wherof wilbe worth to the Q.^r Ma^{tie}. at the least x^{mi}., which will discharg that debt, if it stand so wth. the Q.^r Ma^{ts} pleash^r.

Sr., I do perceyve that the gretest care that you have is that o^r. m^rchaunts shall not have monney inoughe for to by up o^r. comodytes, wherin you need not to dowbt, coⁿsidering the good vent they have had at Hamboroughe alredie, and are like to have; therfore I shall most humblie beseche you, for the staie and advauncing of the Q.^r Ma^{ts}. credit this small paiment that is agreed upon alredy at Hamborough maie bepaid, considering that I have writen heretofore to the said creditors they shuld have a paiment made there now this August, whiche paiment will not a little advaunce her Highnes' honnor and credit; and how much her Highnes' credit hathe stand her steede beyond the seas for reddie monney it is to tedious, and to long a matter, to trowble you wth.all; but if my credit were suche that I were able to perswade the Q.^r Ma^{tie} and you, I would have that matter now

sorowid for above all other things ; assuring you, S^r., I do know for certain that the Duke de Alva is more trowbled wth. the Q.' Ma^{tie}' gret credit, and wth. the vent of her Highnes' comodities at Ham-borough, then he is wth any thing els, and quakes for feare, which is one of the chifest things that is the let that the said Duke cannot com by the tenth penny that he now demandeth for the sale of all goods anny kind of waye in the Low Countrey, w^{che}., S^r., I beleve wilbe his utter undoing. Therfore, S^r., to conclude, I would wishe that the Q.' Ma^{tie}. in this tyme shuld not use any straungers, but her own subjects, wherbie she, and all other Princes, maie se what a Prince of powr she is ; and bie this meanes there is no doubt but that her Highnes shall cause the Duke of Alva to know himself, and to make what end with that Lowe Countreys as her Ma^{tie}. will herself, what brute soev^r. is here spredde abroad to the contrary.

S^r., seeing I am entrid so farre wth youe for the credit of the Q.' Ma^{tie}. beyond the seas, wherin I haue travailed this xx yeres, and bie experience in using o^r. owne m^r chaunts I found gret honnor to the Prince, as also gret p[~]fit to the m^rchaunts, and to the whole realm, whatsoever our m^r.chaunts saye to the co[~]tra-rye ; for when o^r. Prince ought ovr own m^r.chaunts LX or IIII^{xxm}. then they knew themselves, and were dailie reddie to s^rve as good chepe as straungers did, whiche, S^r. I wold wishe again in this time of extremity to be usid, for that I knowe o^r. m^r.chaunts be able to do yt, because the debt is divided into many menne's hands, and bye no meanes cannot hinder them having intrest. Other I have not to molest you wth.all, but that as the 12 of this present M^r. Benedik Spinola brought home to my house a m^rchaunt of Janua, calid Thomas Ragio, to take his leave of me, to knowe if he could plesure me wth. any thing in Flaunders ; and, as I thanked him, so, emongs other comunication of p[~]fit, and for s^r.vice by his ministrie, he desired me to be his frend for such monney as the Q.' Ma^{tie}. hath of his in the Towr. With that I asked him what his somme was, and he sayed xx or xxx^m, ducats :

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

but by talke I p̃ceive he hathe muche more with other of his frinds. Now, Sr., seeing this monney in the Towr dothe app̃rtain to m^r.chaunts, I wold wishe the Q.^e Ma^{tie}. to putt it to use of some p̃fitt; as to mynt it into her owne coyne, wherbye she shall be a gaynor III or IIII^{III}, and enriche her relm wth. so much fyne silv^r.: and for the re-payment thereof her Highnes maie paie it bie the waie of exchaunge, or otherwise, to her gret fardell and profit; as also her Ma^{tie}. maie take it up of the said m^r.chaunts upon intrest, uppon the bands accustomed, for a yere or twoo, whiche I think they wilbe right glad of, and so wth. the said monney her Ma^{tie}. maie paie her debts both heare and in Flaunders, to the gret honnor and credit of her Ma^{tie}. throughout all Xtendom; as knowith the L who pres̃rve you, with the increse of honnor. From Gresham House, the 14 of August, 1569,

At yo^r Honnor's commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

Sr. I most humbly thancke you for the remembians that yow have of my sewte for my Lady Mary Grey, and for my lande at Oysterley."

Cecil, convinced and encouraged by these arguments, laid them before the Queen, who determined to take the steps recommended by them, and Gresham, to forward the more effectually his advice by his own example, sent in the succeeding month to the Tower five sacks of new Spanish reals, each sack weighing nearly one thousand pounds, to be coined for the Queen's use, as his own individual contribution; but he had calculated erroneously on the disposition of the London merchants to lend. He proposed the matter to them, and they, to shift from themselves the odium of a direct refusal, referred it as a public question to the assembly called a common hall, by which, even then distinguished by its vulgar and senseless inclination to oppose indiscriminately all measures instituted by the ministers of the Crown, it was negatived. Gresham treated these persons with the disdain which they

merited. Abandoning his original intention of negotiating the loan with privacy, he procured a letter from the Privy Council to the great company of Merchant Adventurers, which may be found at length in Stowe's Survey, remonstrating with them in plain terms on the subterfuge which had been thus used by many of their members in their individual capacity, and reproaching them with ingratitude to the Crown, which had constantly and carefully forwarded their best interests. The Merchant Adventurers, ashamed not less of the inferior people with whom some of them had thus associated themselves, than of the narrow views with which they had formed that connection, readily agreed to furnish the sum required, and lent Elizabeth sixteen thousand pounds on her bonds, at the then moderate interest of six per cent. She, on her part, testified her gratitude to them, and to Gresham, by honouring him on the twenty-third of January, 1570, with a visit at his house in Bishopsgate Street, where she dined, and, on returning in the evening by Cornhill, entered the Bourse, with more than ordinary pomp, and caused a herald to proclaim that it should thenceforth be called by the name of "the Royal Exchange."

In the summer of 1572 the Queen, resolving to make a progress longer than ordinary, thought fit, from some motive of jealousy of her good citizens of London now forgotten, to issue a commission rather of an unusual nature, by which the Archbishop of Canterbury, and eight other distinguished persons, were authorized and commanded to assist the Lord Mayor with their counsel for the good government and peace of the city during the absence of herself and her Court and ministers. Sir Thomas Gresham was of the number; the measure was thought to have produced such good effects that it was always resorted to on similar occasions during that reign; and his name was constantly inserted. It is probable indeed, considering the importance of his connexion at once with the Court and the city, that the exercise of this office fell chiefly on him. In the following year, through his care and exertions, the Queen's bonds to the London merchants were punc-

tually discharged, and this proof of good faith so fixed his credit that his future negotiations for similar loans were always managed without distrust or difficulty. In 1576 he was joined in a commission with Burghley, Walsingham and Martin, master of the mint, to enquire into the nature of foreign exchanges, and with this appointment his public employment seems to have ended.

He had for some years meditated the foundation of a distinguished place of education for the sons of citizens of London, but seems to have been undetermined where to establish it. Each of the Universities addressed itself to him on this subject, soliciting the preference with that pertinacious importunity generally used by corporate societies, and Gresham, who really seems to have previously hesitated between Oxford and Cambridge, was perhaps induced by this indecorum to fix on London. He resolved to convert his ample dwelling in Bishopsgate Street into a college : to endow it with the revenues arising from the profits of the Royal Exchange, and to place it under the care of the same trustees to whom he had already committed the charge of that superb property. By a deed of the twenty fourth of May, 1575, and by his last will, dated the fifth of the following July, he vested the latter edifice in the corporation of London, and the company of mercers, to be equally enjoyed by them, the City to pay out of it's moiety an annual salary of fifty pounds each to four professors of divinity, astronomy, music, and geometry; the mercers to pay the same stipend to three in law, physic, and rhetoric. These professors to reside, and to read their lectures, in his mansion, afterwards called Gresham College, to which he annexed eight almshouses, to be maintained from the same course, which he charged also with liberal pensions to several hospitals and prisons. This laudable and generous institution flourished usefully till the end of the succeeding century, when, the revolution having totally broken down the fences which even till then had kept the different classes of society in some degree distinct from each other, the citizens became too haughty to accept of gratuitous instruc-

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

tion : Gresham College dwindled gradually till the year 1768, when an act was passed for the purchase of it by the commissioners of the excise : it was pulled down : and the present excise office was erected on it's site. A room over part of the Exchange was appointed for the lectures, which have long been in a great measure discontinued. As the salaries remain, the professorships still exist. All the rest is nearly extinct.

Sir Thomas Gresham died of an apoplexy on the twenty-first of November, 1579, and was buried in the parish church of St. Helen, in Bishopsgate Street. By his wife, Anne, daughter of William Ferneley, of West Creting, in Norfolk, and relict of William Read of Fulham, in Middlesex, a merchant of London, he had, as has been observed, an only son, Richard, who died young. He left however a natural daughter, the fruit of an amour with a native of Bruges, whom he gave in marriage, portioned with considerable estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, to Nathaniel, second son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, whose wife was sister to the Lady Gresham.



Engraved by H. R. Kneller

HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL

OB 1580

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH

HENRY FITZALAN,

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

THE first attempt is now made to bring into one view the dispersed relics of this very eminent person's story. In searching for them, regret has been excited at every step by evident presumptions that innumerable circumstances of that story have been long lost in utter oblivion. In the life of a man of exalted rank, not less distinguished by the vigour of his talents than by his honesty and high spirit; continually in the service of the Crown, under four Monarchs the characters of whose minds and tempers, and the policy of whose governments, were dissimilar even to opposition; devoted with the most faithful and unbending resolution to a religion which he saw alternately cherished and proscribed by those Princes, professed and abjured by his compeers; what interesting facts must have occurred! what dangers must he not have encountered, what difficulties must he not have surmounted? Those curiosities, however, have been sacrificed to the dulness or the timidity of the historians of the seventeenth century, and little remains of him but an outline which it is now too late to endeavour to fill up.

Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of Arundel of his family, was born in 1512, the only son of William, the ninth Earl, by Anne, second daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland of the Percys. He had passed the age of thirty before he succeeded, on his father's death, to the titles and great estates of his ancestors, and his life had been till then confined, according to the rule of domestic subordination which generally prevailed in that time, to the sports of the field, and the festivities, and warlike exercises of the Court. In the summer however of the following

year, 1544, he attended Henry in his splendid voyage to Boulogne, and was appointed, on his arrival there, Field Marshal of the army then employed in the remarkable siege of that town, under the command of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The success of the enterprize was at least completed by his vigilance and courage. In the night of the eleventh of September, after the siege had been carried on for six weeks, he marched the squadron committed to his charge close under the walls, and there awaited the event of a furious discharge of cannon which played on them over his head. It proved fortunate: a breach was effected: and he, at the head of his troops, first entered the town, which two days after capitulated. The King rewarded this service by a grant of the Government of Calais, and of the office of Comptroller of the Royal Household. Henry loved bravery, but he loved yet better implicit obedience, of which he received shortly after from this nobleman a remarkable proof. He had been appointed, with others, to negotiate a treaty with the Scots, the terms proposed for which had received the unanimous approbation of the Council, but were secretly disliked by the King. Henry, unwilling to disoblige his ministers, permitted them to write in his name to the Earl to conclude the treaty, but in the same hour commanded Cecil, whom he had lately received into much confidence, to repair privately to the Earl, in Scotland, and to tell him that, whatsoever he, the King, had ordered by his letter, it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should immediately break up the treaty. Cecil observing to the King, to use the words of my author, "that a message by word of mouth, being contrary to his letter, would never be believed," well, said the King, "do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his own choice." Upon Mr. Cecil's arrival, the Earl of Arundel shewed the other commissioners as well the message as the letter: they are all for the letter. He said nothing, but ordered that the message should be written, and signed by his fellow commissioners; and thereupon immediately broke up the treaty, sending Cecil with the

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

advertisement of it to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud—‘ what, will he do it, or no ?’ Cecil replied that his Majesty might understand that by the inclosed: but then the King, half angry, urged—‘ nay, tell me, will he do it, or no ?’ Being then told it was done, he turned to the Lords, and said ‘ now you will hear news, the fine treaty is broken ;’ whereto one presently answered that he who had broke it deserved to lose his head; to which the King straitly replied that he would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged rather than one such servant as had done it, and therewith commanded the Earl of Arundel’s pardon should be presently drawn up, the which he sent, with letters of thanks, and assurance of favour.” Henry, soon after his return, appointed him Lord Chamberlain, and, in his last moments, which indeed were then approaching, distinguished him by naming him one of the guardians of the infant successor.

In the great conflict for power between Seymour and Dudley which agitated the following reign it was scarcely possible for any eminent person connected with the State or Court to remain neuter. The Earl of Arundel, who continued Lord Chamberlain, seems to have endeavoured to keep that course for a time, but at length joined the faction of Warwick, and when the first storm broke out against the Protector was appointed, partly from confidence, and in some measure in consideration of his high office in the household, one of the six Lords under whose care, or rather in whose custody, the King was placed, to frustrate any attempt by the other party to seize his person. It was not possible however that two such men should remain long united. The grand features of Warwick’s disposition were an ambition wholly unprincipled, and a violence of temper which broke through all the bounds of prudence; while Arundel, to use the words of Sir John Hayward, perhaps the only writer of credit who has left us any glimpse of the character of his mind, was “ in his nature circumspect and slow,” as well as of undoubted probity. Scarcely

three months had passed, when the Earl was suddenly deprived of his post, and of his seat in the Privy Council, and strange accusations, which have been most obscurely recorded, were preferred against him, and some other great men. All that we can learn on this head is that he was charged with "having taken away bolts and locks at Westminster" (probably meaning from the palace, where Edward was in a manner imprisoned) and that he "had given away the King's stuff." The tribunal, probably the packed remains of Warwick's Council, which affected to take cognizance of these alledged offences, committed him for a time to the Tower, fined him in twelve thousand pounds, to be paid at the rate of one thousand pounds yearly, and afterwards banished him to one of his country seats. "Doubtless," says Hayward on this head, "the Earl of Warwick had good reason to suspect that they who had the honesty not to approve his purpose would not want the heart to oppose against it."

The Earl of Arundel retired accordingly, and lived in privacy till the King's death, soon after which he appeared among the foremost of the supporters of Mary's title to the Crown; yet Jane Grey, under the advice of her father-in-law, Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, who was perhaps willing to magnify her strength by concealing her weakness, charged those to whom she wrote to levy forces for the furtherance of her claim to make no application to the servants and tenants of Arundel, "relying on them otherwise for her service." The Earl, however, appeared presently after at the great meeting of Mary's friends at Baynard's Castle, and addressed them with a fervour of eloquence and reasoning which has preserved at least the substance of his speech from oblivion. "In this assembly," says Hayward, "the Earl of Arundel fell foul upon Northumberland with the utmost severity. He ran over the history of the late times, and, reckoning up every act of mismanagement, cruelty, and injustice, committed in King Edward the sixth's reign, threw the odium of all upon him only. Then he made expostulating complaints that the children of

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Henry the eighth should, contrary to all right, be thrust from the succession, and professed himself amazed to think how Northumberland had brought such great and noble persons, meaning those present, to so mean servitude as to be made the tools of his wicked designs; for it was by their consent and assistance that the Crown was put upon the daughter of Suffolk, the same Northumberland's daughter-in-law, the sovereignty in fact remaining in him of exercising the most uncontrollable rage and tyranny over their lives and fortunes. To accomplish this usurpation indeed the cause of religion was pretended; but, though they had forgot the Apostle's advice, 'not to do evil that good may follow; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of fear, but for conscience' sake;' yet who, he asked, had seen cause to think that in matters of religion Queen Mary intended any alteration? for, when she was lately addressed about this in Suffolk, she had (which indeed was true) given a very fair satisfactory answer; and 'what a madness is it,' says he, 'for men to throw themselves into certain destruction, to avoid uncertain danger. I heartily wish there had been no such transgression; but, since there has, the best remedy for a past error is a timely repentance; wherefore it is my advice that we all join our utmost endeavours, that so, by our authority, Mary, the rightful and undoubted heiress of these kingdoms, may be proclaimed Queen.'

The accession of that Princess to the throne without bloodshed may perhaps be reasonably ascribed to this well-timed harangue, and to the vigour and good judgement with which the Earl pursued the course which he had so warmly advised. The assembly, wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm, rose, and instantly accompanied him into the city, where, having obtained the attendance of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they proclaimed Mary with universal applause. This done, he took horse the same evening; rode into Suffolk, where she was then awaiting the issue of the contest, to communicate the tidings, and receive

her commands ; and, on the following day, personally arrested the Duke of Northumberland at Cambridge, and led him, a prisoner, towards the Tower of London. It is astonishing that such mighty measures should have been proposed and executed in the space of three days ; but the whole was actually accomplished on the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first, of July, 1553.

Mary acknowledged these eminent services with becoming gratitude, distinguished him during her short reign by the most perfect confidence ; and bestowed on him the offices of President of her Council, and Steward of her Household. He was also elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford soon after her accession, a dignity which he of course resigned on the re-establishment of the Protestant Church by Elizabeth. He was not less favoured however by that Princess, who continued him in the post of Lord Steward, and complimented the high antiquity of his name and titles with the exalted appointments of High Constable, and High Steward, of England, at her coronation. He was even one among the few of her eminent subjects who flattered themselves, and had in all probability been flattered by her, with the hope of gaining her hand. It should seem indeed that he had explicitly offered himself, and been rejected ; for Dugdale, quoting, I believe erroneously, Camden, says, “ having fed himself with hopes of obtaining Queen Elizabeth for his wife, and failing therein, after he had spent much upon these vain imaginations, his friends in Court failing him, he grew troubled in mind, and thereupon, to wear off the grief, got leave to travel. This happened in 1561. How long he now remained abroad does not appear, but he was in London in December 1565, when he again obtained a licence to leave England, and went soon after into Italy, where he seems to have sojourned for four years. In his long absence from his own country he contracted a great fondness for foreign fashions, several of which, on his return, he introduced here, particularly the use of coaches, the first of which ever seen in England was kept by himself.

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

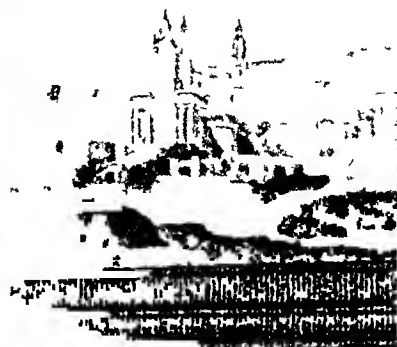
He seems to have been entirely disengaged from public affairs till the year 1569, when he was appointed one of the Commissioners to enquire into the murder of Henry, King of Scotland, of which he avowed his opinion that Mary was innocent. His generous nature loathed the snares with which Elizabeth and her ministers surrounded that unhappy Princess, and, in a debate in the Privy Council on the suggestion of some new artifice against her, he had the boldness to say, in the Queen's presence, that "the wisdom of the former age was so provident that it needed not, and so plain that it endured not, such shifts" That which was called Mary's party now reckoned on his uniform support, but his sense of loyalty and justice was as pure as his frankness and impartiality, and when Leicester imparted to him the plan secretly formed for a marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, whose first lady was Arundel's daughter, he declared that he would oppose it to the utmost, unless it were previously sanctioned by Elizabeth's consent. His intercourse, however, with Mary's friends rendered him an object of suspicion, and in 1572 he suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower, after which he sunk gradually in his mistress's favour, and at length wholly lost it by his determined opposition to her matrimonial treaty with the Duke of Anjou. From that time to his death he remained in retirement. "About the beginning of this year," says Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, 1580, "Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, rendered his soul to God, in whom was extinct the surname of this most noble family, which had flourished with great honour for three hundred years, and more, from the time of Richard Fitzalan, who, being descended from the Albeneyes, ancient Earls of Arundel and Sussex in the reign of Edward the first, received the title of Earl, without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the Castle and Honour of Arundel." He married, first, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had three children, all of whom he outlived; Henry, who died at Brussels, young, and

HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

unmarried; Joan, married to John, Lord Lumley; and Mary, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, in right of descent from whose son, Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howards, the present Duke of Norfolk enjoys that remarkable Earldom, under the tenure so clearly stated by Camden in the foregoing passage, which I have inserted for the sake of elucidating a frequently disputed point. His second lady was Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundel, of Lanherne, in Cornwall, and widow of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, by whom he had no issue.

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JAMES DOUGLAS,

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

JAMES DOUGLAS, third Earl of Morton, having no male issue, obtained, on the twenty-second of April, 1543, a royal charter intailing his Earldom, and the chief of his estates, on the youngest of his three daughters, Elizabeth, and her husband, James, second son of Sir George Douglas, brother to Archibald Earl of Angus, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of David Douglas, of Pittendreath, and their heirs male. In right of that settlement James, on the death of his father-in-law in 1553, succeeded to the dignity. He will be the subject of this memoir.

The enmity of James the Fifth of Scotland to the great House of Angus, and its causes, are well known to all readers of the history of that country. In the year 1529, the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George, were declared guilty of high treason: their great estates were forfeited, and they fled, with their families, to England, where they remained for fourteen years. Under these untoward circumstances, the education of James, then a boy, is said to have been almost wholly neglected. He was committed to the care of a trusty person of inferior rank; assumed the name of Innes; and, as he approached to manhood, was engaged to serve in the household of some person of quality in the capacity of steward, or chamberlain. The King's death, at the close of the year 1542, withdrew him from this seclusion; he returned to Scotland with his relations, and having made the advantageous match which has been already mentioned, took on himself, according to the custom of the country, the designation of Master of Morton. His expectations at this period were peculiarly lofty. He was nearly related to royalty, both in his blood

JAMES DOUGLAS,

and by his marriage, and his capacious and haughty mind, however uncultivated, was amply impressed by the importance of his station.

His entrance into public life seemed to be marked by ill fortune, but chance, or his own dexterity, or both, turned it to his advantage. On the invasion of his country by the English in 1544 he garrisoned, and bravely defended, the castle of Dalkeith, one of the mansions of his family, and probably his place of residence, but in a similar endeavour in 1547, after the defeat of Musselborough, was compelled to surrender it, and was himself led by the victorious Earl of Hertford to England, where he remained a prisoner of war for several years. During that period it has been said that he formed intimacies, and made engagements, which at length bound him to forward the views of this country in Scotland, and that he was placed on the height to which he afterwards attained rather by the predominant influence of the English Crown than by the power of his own family, or the extent of his talents. For a considerable time however after his return he lived in utter privacy, applying himself to those studies which had been denied to his youth, and to the improvement of his dilapidated estates; nor was it till 1559 that he emerged from his retirement, when he suddenly stood forward as a patron of the reformers, and enrolled himself among those persons of quality who then took on themselves the style of "Lords of the Congregation." In the following year the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, expired, and the Parliament, which provisionally assumed the government, dispatched him, together with the Earl of Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington, on an embassy to Elizabeth, by whom they were most graciously received, and in this visit to her court Morton's attachment to the English interest was probably confirmed.

On the arrival of Mary Stuart from France, in 1561, he was sworn of her Privy Council, and early in 1563, succeeded George, Earl of Huntly, in the office of Lord High Chancellor. He had

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

gained no small degree of favour with Mary by his approbation of her match with Darnley, though it arose from motives of pride and interest, for Darnley was his relation : on the other hand, his connection with Murray, the leader of the reformers, who had been exiled for his fierce opposition to it, rendered him an object of her suspicion. The affections of Mary regarding him were thus balanced when the assassination of Rizzio in 1566 drew down on him her most deadly hatred. That enormity was the result of a regular treaty between the King and Morton, by which the former had agreed to defend the reformed religion, and to procure a pardon for Murray and his associates ; and the Earl, on his part, to secure Henry's succession to the sovereign authority in the event of his surviving the Queen, and to contrive and superintend the murder of the unworthy favourite ; and this he did, even in person, for he led the armed force which surrounded the palace during the perpetration of it. Rizzio was scarcely dead, when Murray, and the other exiled Lords, recalled, as has been just now observed, at the instance of Morton, arrived at Edinburgh. Mary, anxious to oppose them to the King's faction, received them as friends, and they, in an affectation of gratitude to Morton, besought her to promise him her pardon. She yielded to their request, and even admitted him to her presence, but was secretly inexorable, and on the very same day persuaded the weak and worthless Darnley to abandon the guilty instrument of his vengeance ; to fly privately with her to Dunbar ; and there to collect a military force, for the purpose of wresting the capital from Morton and his party, and of sacrificing them to her anger. Murray, tempted by her promises, as readily deserted his benefactor ; and Morton, deprived of his great office, and presently after of his estates, once more took refuge in England.

His exile was short. Bothwell, now unhappily the object of Mary's partiality, sought the aid of all parties to the wild design he secretly entertained of sharing with her the Throne. The power, the talents, and the courage of Morton, and perhaps the

readiness with which he had so lately undertaken a base and horrible assassination, combined to recommend him ; and Bothwell, to whom Mary could then deny nothing, obtained his pardon with little difficulty ; communicated to him the dreadful project which had been conceived to destroy the King, and solicited his advice and assistance in the execution of it. Morton hesitated, not from dictates of conscience but of caution, for his answer was that he would not engage in it unless he had an order to secure him under the Queen's sign manual, and, in the same spirit, he took care to be at the distance of twenty miles from Edinburgh when the deed was perpetrated there. It was followed by Mary's infamous marriage to Bothwell, and the consequent association of a considerable number of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility, for the protection of the young Prince, to possess himself of whose person he had left no means untried but those of force. Morton joined them with apparent zeal and alacrity ; encouraged them to take up arms, and commanded one of the two battalions into which they divided a force hastily raised for the capture of Bothwell. It is needless to dwell here on events which form one of the most striking epochs in the history of Scotland. Mary, who was with Bothwell at Dunbar, surrounded by some troops, endeavoured to arrest the march of the confederates by proposals of treaty, and offers of pardon, but Morton, whom they had agreed should take the lead, answered that they came not against the Queen, but to demand the murderer of the King : not to seek pardon for their offences, but to grant pardon to such as might appear to deserve it. They advanced ; Bothwell, doubtless through the connivance of Morton, was suffered to escape ; and Mary, submitting to a hard but deserved necessity, surrendered her person on conditions which were no sooner made than broken, and was the next day led a prisoner by Morton to the castle of Lochleven, and placed in the custody of the owner, William Douglas, his near relation.

A resignation of the Crown to her infant son was now extorted

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

from her, and Murray was appointed to the Regency. Morton, who to eminent general capacity united that coolness and subtlety which the fury of the time rendered peculiarly necessary to a minister, became the chief adviser of his measures, and the most distinguished object of his favour. On the eleventh of November, 1567, the Regent restored him to the great office of Chancellor, and in the following month appointed him, on the forfeiture of Bothwell, hereditary High Admiral of Scotland, and Sheriff of Edinburgh. So universal was the confidence reposed in him by Murray, that, in the spring of the following year, when Mary escaped from Lochleven, and appeared at the head of an army, he was chosen to command the van of the Regent's troops in the battle of Langside, that unfortunate action which fatally compelled her to seek refuge in England. Morton presently followed her thither. He was the Regent's principal coadjutor in the celebrated conference on her case instituted by Elizabeth at York, and afterwards removed to Westminster, and maintained throughout the whole of that tedious scene of solemn deception a secret correspondence with Cecil, which, while it injured to the last degree the already distracted interests of Mary, contributed in no small degree to increase that dependance of Scotland on the will of Elizabeth which has been usually charged to the condescensions of Murray.

A year had scarcely passed after the close of this negotiation, for so it might be called, when Murray fell by the hand of an assassin. Great disorders arose; a powerful party appeared in arms for the Queen; and Morton, who had for the time placed himself at the head of the government, preferred to Elizabeth a welcome suit for her interposition. The King's party, as it was called, prevailed, and, under her auspices, the Earl of Lenox, father of Darnley, and consequently Mary's implacable enemy, was elected to the Regency. A treaty was now established for the restoration of Mary, at least to her liberty, and Morton was placed at the head of the three commissioners named by the

Regent. The professions of Elizabeth, at whose motion it was commenced, seemed at length to be sincere, but, on the meeting in London of the parties delegated by the three powers, Morton, with a warmth by no means consistent with his character, asserted in high terms the justice of limiting the power of Princes, and the inherent right of resistance in subjects ; and Elizabeth, with whom it can scarcely be doubted that a proposed discussion on subjects in that age esteemed so monstrous had been previously concerted, testified the utmost indignation, and broke up the congress. Scotland, in the mean time, was distracted by the excesses of the contending factions. A Parliament chosen by the King's party was sitting at Stirling ; another, elected by the Queen's, at Edinburgh. On the third of September 1571, some of Mary's friends, led by the celebrated Kirkaldy of Grange, made a sudden attack on the former, and seized the persons of the Regent and his principal nobles. Morton, who had lately arrived from England, alone resisted. He defended his house with obstinate courage till the assailants forced him to surrender by setting fire to it. The sole important consequence of this furious enterprise was the death of Lenox, who was killed in the tumult by an unknown hand, for the party, which was very small, and had owed a momentary success merely to the unexpectedness of its attack, was presently dispersed by the soldiers of the garrison, and the people of the town. The Earls of Mar, Morton, and Aigyle, presently appeared as candidates for the Regency, and the former gained the election.

Mar held that high office scarcely for one year. Morton, in whose hands the two preceding Regents had in fact lodged the whole direction of the State, still ruled it with unimpaired sway, and the weight of his talents, and the extent of his domains, rendered any endeavour to remove him at once inconvenient and dangerous. In the mean time, he avenged the secret vexation which the disappointment of his pretensions to the Regency had excited by thwarting the measures of his successful rival, and

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

opposing to his sincere efforts for the establishment of public tranquillity all the artifices of factious intrigue. Mar, a man of moderate intellect and delicate fibre, fell a sacrifice to the contest, and in November, 1572, Morton, chiefly through the powerful aid of Elizabeth, was chosen to succeed him without opposition. Sensible from the effects of his aversion to peace while he was the second person in the State how necessary it was to him in his new station, he now opened a treaty with the Queen's party. It was divided into two factions, the one headed by the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Huntly, the other by Maitland and Kirkaldy; the former, of great personal weight, and actuated by motives of cool policy; the latter, distinguished by superior talents, and earnest zeal. He determined, while he offered terms to each, to treat separately with the first, and to sacrifice the second to his resentment, and the event amply proved the depth of his policy. The Duke and Huntly eagerly accepted his proposals, but Maitland and Kirkaldy, who possessed the Castle of Edinburgh, enraged at his duplicity, commenced open hostilities by firing on the city. Elizabeth, secretly a party to the plan, sent a considerable military force to Morton's aid, in direct violation of a treaty which she had lately concluded with France, and the two gallant chiefs surrendered to her troops, and were perfidiously placed by her general in the hands of the Regent, who put Kirkaldy to an ignominious death, while Maitland, to avoid a similar fate, destroyed himself in his prison. By these events, which however terminated the civil war in Scotland, the interests of Mary in her own country were utterly overthrown.

The nation now expected a benign and prudent administration, and was disappointed. A fierce and tyrannical spirit, which he had long disguised by deep artifice, began to manifest itself in Morton. He was discovered to be avaricious and cruel. In the affairs of the church he enriched himself by simoniacal bargains, and impoverished even the inferior clergy by extorting from them portions of their incomes, under the pretence of forming regula-

tions to better their condition. He alienated from him the affections of the commonalty by innumerable fines exacted in the way of composition for real or supposed offences, which they were frequently compelled to confess by torture. The nobility became at length the objects of his oppression and treachery, and in that simple spirit of haughty fierceness which then distinguished them, carried their complaints of him to the King. James had not fully reached his twelfth year, but the period of royal majority was not yet clearly defined, and his mere name was a tower of strength. The Earls of Aigyle and Athol, two of the most powerful among the Peers of Scotland, headed the cabal which was formed against the Regent. The King, at their request, signed letters calling a council of such nobles as they proposed to him, which determined that the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, should demand of Morton his resignation of the Regency, and he submitted, even with apparent joy, and accompanied them for that purpose to Edinburgh, where James's acceptance of the sovereign authority was immediately proclaimed.

Morton retired to one of his seats, and affected to devote himself to the usual occupations of a rural life. This however was but refined dissimulation. He meditated incessantly the means of regaining his public importance, and the violence with which his adversaries pursued their vengeance against him after his retreat aided his views. Their popularity presently declined. The nation saw the King and the government in the hands of Papists, and Morton was still held as the chief protector of the kirk. The ungenerous persecution of a fallen enemy, as he was deemed, was loudly censured; he discovered that he was yet master of a powerful party, and resolved to ground his hopes on the issue of one of those bold and irregular enterprises so frequent in the eventful history of his time. James, the care of whose person had been committed to the Earl of Mar, still remained in the nominal custody of that nobleman's heir, whose youth rendering him unfit to hold so important a trust, it was sustained

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

provisionally by his uncle, Alexander Erskine, Morton's bitter enemy. Morton now successfully insinuated to the young Earl and his mother that Alexander had formed a design to deprive his nephew of that distinguished honour, as well as of the government of Stirling Castle, in which the King resided; and Mar, in a transport of fury, aggravated by the suggestions of his ambitious mother, flew to Stirling; dismissed his uncle; and made himself master of the King's person, and of the strong garrison by which it was guarded. Morton presently followed him; took his place in the terrified Privy Council, and called a Parliament, in the King's name, to meet within the castle, which confirmed James's assumption of the government, ratified a general pardon which had been granted to Morton on his relinquishing the functions of Regent; and voted a pension to the Countess of Mar, who had in fact been the chief instrument of working this singular change.

Both parties now appeared in arms, and took the field with considerable strength, but an accommodation was made by the mediation of Elizabeth, to whose will Morton always implicitly submitted. Some of the most eminent of his opponents were admitted into the Privy Council; a convention of the Nobility was chosen, to which the two factions agreed to refer their differences; and an apparent reconciliation succeeded, but it was followed by a horrible circumstance, which, with too much probability, was ascribed to the vindictive spirit of Morton. To celebrate the accord which had been thus accomplished he gave a banquet to the leaders of his late enemies, immediately after which the Earl of Athol, High Chancellor, a man of eminent abilities, and his constant opponent, was suddenly taken ill, and died within four days, with the strongest suspicions of poison: Morton however succeeded in turning this tragical event to his advantage, and purchased the powerful support of Argyll by bestowing on him the elevated office of his late principal coadjutor. Having thus divided and weakened the potent band which

JAMES DOUGLAS, FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

party spirit, differ in their reports of the proceedings against him, but thus much is certain, that after his sentence had been passed, he distinctly owned Bothwell's disclosure to him of the intended assassination. On the following day he was led to execution: his enemy, Stewart of Ochiltree, commanding in person the soldiers who guarded the scaffold, a shocking instance of the barbarous rudeness of the time. He confessed there that it was his design to have sent James into England, but alledged that the resolution was dictated by an opinion that it would be proper that the King should in his youth reside at intervals among a people over whom he was one day to reign; and that he considered it to be necessary towards securing the succession to the Crown of that country. He suffered death with great firmness, and a decent shew of piety and resignation. Morton left no issue.



Engraved by W. Freeman

THOMAS RADCLYTTE EARL OF SUSSEX

OB 1533

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR ANTONIO MORE IN THE POSSESSION OF

WILLIAM RADCLYTTE J. SOTH

THOMAS RADCLYFFE,

EARL OF SUSSEX

THE circumstances, important as they were, of the life of this very great and good man have been suffered till this day to lie scattered on the page of history; and in the number, which is not inconsiderable, of biographical omissions, no one has appeared to me so remarkable. Neither has his portrait (with one or two exceptions, so mean as scarcely to challenge recollection,) been delivered to us by the graver. In a former work I gave a very slight sketch of his character, merely in a note, for the re-publication here of a few sentences from which perhaps no apology may be necessary. "This great man's conduct united all the splendid qualities of those eminent persons who jointly rendered Elizabeth's court an object of admiration to Europe, and was perfectly free from their faults. Wise and loyal as Burghley, without his blind attachment to the monarch, vigilant as Walsingham, but disdaining his cunning, magnificent as Leicester, but incapable of hypocrisy; and brave as Raleigh, with the piety of a primitive christian; he seemed above the common objects of human ambition, and wanted, if the expression may be allowed, those dark shades of character which make men the heroes of history." Such was the man whose story has never yet been collectively imparted to the world

He was born in 1526, the eldest son of Henry, second Earl of Sussex of the Radclyffes, by his first lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. He was bred a statesman from his early youth, and was not only sent Ambassador by Queen Mary to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and then to his son, Philip the fourth of Spain, to treat of her projected marriage

THOMAS RADCLYFFE,

to the latter Prince, but filled for a time the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland, before he had reached his thirtieth year. Shortly after his father's death, which happened in 1556, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Royal Forests south of Trent, and in 1557, being then a Knight of the Garter, held the place of Captain of the Pensioners, and had a renewal of his commission as Lord Deputy. Elizabeth also named him to that office immediately after she had mounted the throne; and in 1561 constituted him her Lieutenant and Governor General in Ireland. In 1566 he was sent to Germany, to invest the Emperor Maximilian the second with the Order of the Garter, and returned to Vienna in the following year, commissioned to treat of a marriage between that Prince's brother, the Archduke Charles, and Elizabeth. In 1569 he was appointed President of the North, a situation in those times always of the highest trust and importance, and at that peculiar juncture rendered infinitely difficult by the singular state of her affairs with Scotland, and the turbulent spirit of the border counties. Those circumstances led him now for the first time to assume a military character. He placed himself at the head of the troops in that quarter, and, while he wisely administered the civil affairs of his government by his orders from the camp, commanded with equal bravery and skill in a number of those predatory incursions to which the border warfare was then confined. While he was employed in these services he was sworn of the Privy Council.

He returned, after two years absence, to the melancholy duty of sitting in judgment with his peers on Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was not only his kinsman, but his most dear friend, and whose ruin might be traced, in a great measure, to his neglect of the Earl's advice. Of Sussex's suffrage on that occasion we are ignorant, but I believe the twenty-five Lords by whom the Duke was tried were unanimous in their verdict. Be this as it may, the unfortunate Norfolk left a dying testimony of his affection to a judge whom he knew to be impartial. His last request was

EARL OF SUSSEX.

that his best George, Chain, and Garter, might be given to his Lord of Sussex. In 1572, having become infirm, though scarcely beyond the prime of life, he retired from severer duties to the office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household, which he held till his death. His last public service was in the treaty of 1582 with the commissioners sent from Paris, to negociate the long agitated treaty of marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou.

It may not be too much to say that in the list of her counselors she trusted this nobleman above all others ; certain it is that no one among them so entirely deserved her confidence. Both these opinions are justified by the voice of history, and proved by his own letters, many of which I am proud of having formerly been the instrument of first producing to the world. He was probably, in the strictest sense of the phrase, her privy counsellor, and therefore little of his political story has been within the reach of the historian. Between him and Leicester the most pure hatred subsisted, and Elizabeth, who there is strong reason to suspect dreaded the resentment of the latter rather from private than public motives, perhaps durst not consult his great enemy but in secret. Sussex in his confidential letters to her, addressed her with the freedom, as well as the kindness, of a friend—writing to her, at great length, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1578, on the question of the French marriage, which was then first agitated, he uses these expressions—“ You shall, by the helpe of your husband, be habell to compell the K of Spayne to take reasonabell condytyons of his subjects in the Lowe Contryes, and the Stats to take reasonabell condytyons of ther K. so as he may have that which before God and mañ dothe justely belong to him, and they may enjoye ther lybertyes, fiedomes, and all other thynges that is feete for ther quyettt and suertye, in bodyes, goods, conscyences, and lyves ; wherby you shall avoyde grete effusyon of Crystyen blodd, and shall have the honor and reward, dew in this wordell and by God, to so gracyouse, godly, and Crystyen actyons : and herewith, for the more suerty of all persones and

THOMAS RADCLYFFE,

mattr, yourselfe maye have in your owne hands some marytyme porte, to be by you kepte, at the charge of the K. of Spayne; and your husband maye have some frontyer townes in lyke sorte; and bothe to be contynued for such a number of yeres as may bryng a settelyng of suerty to all respects; by which meanes you shall also be delyvered from perrells, at home and abroad, that maye growe from the K. of Spayne. And, yf you lyke not of this corse in dealyng for the Lowe Contryes, you may joyne with your husband, and so, betwene you, attempte to possesse the hole Lowe Contryes, and drawe the same to the Crowne of England, yf you have eny chyld by him; or, yf you have none, to devyde them betwene the realmes of England and Fraunce, as shall be mettest for ether; but, to be playne with your Majesté, I do not thynk this corse to be so juste, so godly, so honorabell, nor, when it is loked into the bottome, so suer for you and your State as the other, although at the first syght it do perhaps carrye in shewe some plausybylyté, &c."

From this instance of the manner of his private correspondence, we will turn to an example of the more studied style which he used in his quality of an Ambassador. In a letter from Vienna, of the eighteenth of October, 1567, he thus describes the Archduke Charles—"His Highnes is of person higher suerly a good deale then my L. Marques: his heare of heade and bearde of a lighte aborne: his face well proportioned, amiable, and of a very good compleccon, withoute shewe of readnesse or over paleness: his countenance and speche cherefull, very couteowse, and not withowte some state: his body wellshaped, withowte deformitie or blemishe. his hands very good and fayer. his leggs cleane, well proporcioned, and of sufficient bignes for his stature: his fote as good as may be: so as, upon my dutie to your Majesté, I find not one deformitie, mis-shape, or any thyng to be noted worthy mislikinge, in his hole person; but, contrarywise, I find his hole shape to be good, worthy comendacyon and likyng in all respects, and such as is rarely to be founde in such a Prince.

EARL OF SUSSEX.

His Highnes, besids his naturall language of Duche, speaketh very well Spanish and Italien, and as I heare, Latine. His dealyngs with me be very wise ; his conversacyon such as moche contenteth me ; and, as I heare, none retorneth discontented from his company. He is greatly beloved here of all men. The chefest gallants of these parts be his men, and follow his Corte : the moste of them have travelled other contreis, speake many languags, and behave themselves therafter ; and truly we can not be so gladd there to have him come to us, as they wilbe sadde here to have him go from them. He is reported to be wise, liberall, valeante, and of greate courage, which in the last warres he well showed in defending all his contreis free from the Turk, with his owne force onely, and gevinge them diverse overthrowes when they attempted any thinge againste his rules ; and he is universally (which I most weye) noted to be of suche vertue as he was never spotted or touched with any notable vice or cryme, which is moche of a Prynce of his yeares, indued with such qualities. He deliteth moche in huntinge, ridinge, hawkinge, exercise of feats of armes, and hearinge of musicke, wherof he hathe very good. He hath, as I heare, some understandinge in astronomy and cosmography, and taketh pleasure in clocks that sett forthe the cowrse of the planetts. He hath for his porcyon," &c. &c.

We have here the pen of an historian in the hand of a statesman: a pure, simple, and exalted, method of composition which arose out of the nature of the writer, and which differed as widely from the artificial and turgid quaintness which was the fashion of his time, as did the character of his own mind and heart from those of his compeers. I trust I shall be excused for adding one more short extract, as it is so highly illustrative of the qualities of both, from a letter, written in a moment of anger, to Sir William Cecil, on the twenty-third of January, 1569. After stating the ground of his complaint, which related to some judicial matters in his office of President of the North, he proceeds—
“I was first a Lieutenant: I was after little better then a

THOMAS RADCLYFFE,

Marshall: I had then nothing left to me but to direct hanging matters; in the meane tyme all was disposed that was within my comission) and nowe I am offered to be made a shrief's bayly, to deliver over possessions. Blame me not, good Mr Secretarie, though my pen utter sumwhat of that swell in my stomake, for I see I am kepte but for a brome, and when I have done my office to be throwen owt of the doie. I am the first nobelman hathe ben thus used Trewe service deserveth honor and credite, and not reproche and open defaming: but, seeing the one is ever delyvered to me in stede of the other, I must leave to serve, or lose my honor; which, being continewed so long in my howse, I wolde be lothe shoulde take blemishe with me. These matters I knowe procede not from lacke of good and honorabell meaning in the Q. Majestie towards me, nor from lacke of dewté and trewthe in me towards her, which grevethe me the more; and therfore, seing I shalbe still a camelyon, and yelde no other shewe then as it shall please others to give the couller, I will content myself to live a private lyfe. God send her Majesté others that meane as well as I have done."

Such was his variety of talent, and of cultivation, at a period when the closest application of the dry and obscure subtleties of logic to theological or political controversy was considered as the highest proof of mental accomplishment. For his integrity, his loyalty, and his exalted sense of honour, it might be sufficient to say that he was the only one of Elizabeth's servants, rarely distinguished as most of them were, on whom the slightest suspicion never fell. His conduct in his government of Ireland was equally sagacious, resolute, and humane. "By his prudence," says Fuller, "he caused that actual rebellion brake not out there, and no wonder if in his time it rained not war there, seeing his diligence dispersed the clouds before they could gather together." Even his foreign negociations seem to have been conducted in that spirit of candour which never left him, for in his many diplomatic dispatches which I have perused, I never discovered an instance of active

EARL OF SUSSEX.

deception ; yet his conduct in that character was never taxed with weakness or imprudence. His bitter enmity to the favourite, Leicester, in common with the rest of his sentiments, was open and professed. It was a war of wisdom against cunning, of truth against hypocrisy ; of virtue against guilt. " A constant court faction," says Fuller again, " was maintained between him and Robert Earl of Leicester, so that the Sussexians and Leicesterians divided the court, whilst the Cecilians, as neuters, did look upon them. Sussex was the honestest man, and greater soldier ; Leicester the more facete courtier, and deep politician, not for the general good, but his particular profit. Great was the animosity betwixt them, and what in vain the Queen endeavoured death performed, taking this Earl " (Sussex) " away, and so the competition was at an end." Camden too, who seems to suppose that this discord originated in their vehement opposition of opinion on the treaty of marriage with the Archduke, informs us that " they divided the court into parties and factions ; and the Earls, whenever they went abroad, carried great retinues of servants, with swords and bucklers, with iron pikes pointing out at the bosses, according to the then mode, as if they resolved to have a trial of skill for it " Yet Sussex's indignation could not abate his sense of justice. When Elizabeth, in a paroxysm of jealousy on the sudden discovery of Leicester's marriage to the Countess of Essex, would have committed him to the Tower, Sussex, " out of a solid judgment, and the innate generosity of his own mind," as Camden well says, dissuaded her from it, " being of opinion that no man was to be troubled for lawful marriage, which amongst all men had ever been held in honour and esteem."

He was one of the very few of Elizabeth's servants who experienced any substantial proofs of her gratitude. She granted to him in 1573 several valuable manors and estates in Essex, particularly the noble palace and park of Newhall in the parish of Boreham, which Henry the Eighth, whose favourite residence it was, had enlarged to a vast extent, and to which he had given

THOMAS RADCLYFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX.

the name of Beaulieu. There Sussex lived in the utmost profusion even of feudal magnificence and hospitality. The singular splendour of the place suited the grandeur of his spirit, and he was anxious to attach it firmly to his family ; yet it was sold by his nephew even as early as the year 1620 to Villiers Duke of Buckingham. He resided occasionally too at his mansion of Woodham Walter, and Attleburgh, in Norfolk, and at his manor of Bermondsey, where he died on the ninth of June, 1583. He was buried at Boreham, and we find in his will a curious proof of the great expense which was then usually bestowed on the funerals of the great. He says " I desire that my body shall be by myne executors, decently and comely, without unnecessary pomp or charges, but only having respect to my dignity and state, buried in the parish church of Boreham, in Essex, where I will that my funerals shall be performed and kept, provided always, and my will is, that myne executors shall not dispend in and about my funerall obsequies more than fifteen hundredth pounds ;" a sum at least equal to ten thousand pounds in our time, but then prescribed as for a private funeral, and in the certainty that his executors would have far exceeded it, had he not thus limited them.

This great Earl was twice married, first to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, by whom he had two sons, Henry, and Robert, both of whom died young. By his second, Frances, daughter of Sir William, sister of Sir Henry, and aunt of Sir Philip Sidney, the foundress by her will of Sidney College in Cambridge, he had no issue. His next brother, Henry, therefore succeeded to his honours and estates.



FIG. 1. 116A HM 1

EDWARD CLINTON EARL OF LINCOLN

OB 1581

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF RITTI IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BLENHEIM

EDWARD CLINTON,

EARL OF LINCOLN

THE family of this nobleman had enjoyed the dignity of the Peerage nearly for three hundred years, yet, with the exception of its common ancestor, Geoffery de Clinton, whom we find styled Lord Chamberlain, Trésurér to the King, and Justice of England, under Henry the first, none of his progenitors appear to have held any public situations, beyond such municipal offices as are usually filled by owners of large estates in their respective provinces. He was the only son of Thomas, eighth Lord Clinton, by Mary, a natural daughter of Sir Edward Poynings, Knight of the Garter, and it is probable that no small share of the favour in which that gentleman was held by Henry the eighth devolved on this young nobleman through that marriage.

He was born in the year 1512, and at the death of his father, which occurred on the seventh of August, 1517, fell in wardship to the Crown. Educated in the Court, his youth was passed in those magnificent and romantic amusements which distinguished the commencement of Henry's reign, nor was it till 1544 that he appeared in any public character. In that year he attended the Earl of Hertford, and Dudley, Lord Lisle, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, in their expedition to Scotland, and is said then to have engaged in the naval service in consequence of his intimacy with the latter, who commanded the English fleet. He was knighted at Leith by Hertford, who commanded in chief, and then embarked with the Admiral, Lisle, who, having scoured the coast of Scotland, landed at Boulogne, which was at that time besieged by the King in person.

At the commencement of the following reign he was appointed

EDWARD CLINTON,

admiral of the fleet which aided the Protector's great irruption into Scotland, and, owing to a singular circumstance, is said to have had a considerable share in the victory of Musselborough, without quitting his ships; for the van of the English army having changed its position, the Scots imagined that it was flying to the fleet, and so forsook the high ground on which they had been advantageously posted, and, following the English to the shore, were received with a furious discharge of cannon, which threw them into irrecoverable disorder. Soon after this period Lord Clinton was constituted Governor of Boulogne, and, on his return from thence, after the peace of 1550, was appointed of the King's Privy Chamber; Lord Admiral of England for life; and a Knight of the Garter. To these distinctions were added grants of estates to a very considerable amount. In 1551 he represented his royal master at Paris, as godfather to the third son of France, afterwards Henry the third. He negotiated at the same time the fruitless treaty of marriage intended between Edward the sixth and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry the second of France, and brought home with him the instrument of its ratification.

Edward died soon after the conclusion of this embassy, and Lord Clinton, having recommended himself to the favour of that Prince's successor by his early expression of attachment to her title to the Crown, was sent in 1554, together with others of the loyal nobility, at the head of a military force, against Sir Thomas Wyatt. In the autumn of the next year he carried the Order of the Garter to Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and in 1557 had a principal command in the English army at the siege of St. Quintin. On the thirteenth of February, 1558, O.S. his patent of Lord Admiral was renewed, and on the twelfth of April following he was appointed Commander in chief, both by sea and land, of the forces then sent against France and Scotland. Elizabeth continued him in the post of Admiral; chose him of her Privy Council, appointed him a Commissioner to examine Murray's charges against the Queen of Scots; and joined him to Dudley,

EARL OF LINCOLN.

Earl of Warwick, in the command of the army sent in 1569 against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. He was one of the twenty-five Peers who, in January, 1572, N. S. sat in judgement on Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. On the fourth of the succeeding May he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lincoln, and was immediately after dispatched to Paris, with a splendid train of nobility and gentry, to attend the ratification of the treaty of Blois by Charles the ninth.

The remainder of his life presents nothing worthy of note, for we find only that he was occasionally employed in the mere formalities of that tedious treaty of marriage with Francis Duke of Anjou, Elizabeth's motives for the commencement and dissolution of which were ever equally unknown even to those of her ministers whom she most trusted. It should seem indeed that there was little historically eminent in this nobleman's character: that he was valued by the monarchs whom he served rather for his probity and his fidelity than for his talents, which being probably of a sort and measure best adapted to the conduct of warlike affairs, afforded little worth remembrance during the long season of public tranquillity which detached him from such services. Some imperfect judgement of the powers of his mind may be formed from the two following letters to Lord Burghley, written at different periods of his life, and now first published, from the Harleian collection; nor indeed are they otherwise destitute of interest, particularly the second, written even while the detestable Prince of whose oath of perpetual amity with Elizabeth it chiefly treats was secretly planning the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which were perpetrated within very few weeks after the date of his solemn perjury, and of Lincoln's dispatch.

“After my most hartie comēdacyons unto your good Lordship, albeit you shall by the lettars from my LL of the Cownsell understand the good newis y^t ar com toching the peace betwen the Quene's Ma^{te} and the French toching the mattars of Skotland, yet I take occasyon to trowble your L. wth this my lettar

y^t it may apeare I am not slothfull in wryting to yow. This peace is gretely to the Quene's honour, and this reame. My Lord of Norfolk is gon to Lyth, to see the demolyshing of the same. The newis doth styll contynew of the comyng of the yong King of Swevya, who bringeth xxx shyps of war, and lx other to carre his trayne and vytells. Yesterday the Kyng of Spayne's Ambassadors were here, who reseyved knolayg of her Hynes of the peace concludyd in Skotland. The tewmolts in Fiance do contynew. Monsur de Glassyon told me yesterday y^t the Duke of Savoy was in gret danger, besyde his owne towne off Nyece, to a byn taken by the Torks, bot skaped naroly, his horse being sore hort under hym. xii of his prynsepaill noble men and gentylmen are by the Torks takyn and carreid away. The Kyng of Spayne's los at Geriby is confermyd by other lettars. I have leinyd for sarten y^t the French preparasyons are small to the see. It is brewtyd here y^t the Dewk de Namors doth com wth a gret company of Noble men to vyzet the Quene's Ma^{te} from the French Kyng. Many lettars ar going owt from the Quene to the nobylyty of this reame to com to the Corte agen the comyng of this yong Kyng of Swevya. I trust we shall be in quyat wth France untyll they have ther owne cowntrey in a good oidar and subjectyon, but, when tyme shall sarve them, ther wylbe no gret trost to them, as I juge this peace hath ben parfors, for they were dryven to take it in thys sort, or els have lost all ther pypyll in Lyth, being not able to socor them. My Lord of Penbrok doth somwat amend of his syknes, God be thankyd, and is gon yesterday from the Corte to London, and so to Hynden. When othai mattars shall com worthe wrytyng I wyll advertes your L. From the Coite, the xiiith of July, 1560.

Your L'. assured to com~and,

E. CLYNTON."

" My Lord,

I have advartized your L. from tyme to tyme of my enterteynment synce my comynge from Bullyn, whiche, albeit

ther was no ordar taken for provisions of the Kyng's chargis
me on the waye hyther, yet I assure you I was vearie honora
used and enterteyned, as I have afore wrytten ; and, as I p^{ce}
they here weare utterlie withowt knowledge that there was su
ordar taken by the Quene's Ma^{tie} for the receyvinge of Mons
Moimerancie in England, whereof there hathe ben great mislyki
taken against suche as showld have gyven knowledge hyther.
synce my comyng to Parris ther hathe ben as greate entertey
ment and honor done me, in respecte of her Majestie, as I c
have seene, and all at the Kyng's chargis.

On Fridaye last I was sent for to come to Madryll to the Ky
The Prince Dolphyn, wth many noble men, wher'of the Mars
Cossie, being one, dyd accompany me to the Court, wheare at
comyng the Kyng dyd welcom me vearie honorablie, his breth
and a great assemble of noble men being wyth hym. That
the Kyng cawsed me, and the Quene's Ma^{ties} Imbassadors, to c
wth him and his brethren. We weare aftar dynar browght to
Quene, his wyfe, by the Duke Dalanson, at whiche tyme
Quene mother was sicke, and so deferred our comynge to her
that daye. We weare lodged in the Kynge's howse theare,
hadd greate enterteynement, wheare we remayned Frydaie
Satterdaie, in which tyme the Kynge used suche familer en
teynemente as he tooke me wythe hym after his supper to wa
in his parke, and he played at the Tennys, in the fyldes at Ranc
with the noble men, and caried me late to his pryvie cham
and did talke with me vearie pryvatlye. He had some past
showed hym by Italian players, whiche I was at wth hym.
Satterdaie he towlde me his mother was not vearie well, but
thinge amended, and yet he wolde have me see her, and so hym
browght me to her, and her Majestie's Imbassadors, she be
in her bedd, wheare I dyd her Ma^{ties} comendacions, and delyve
her Ma^{ties} letters. The next daye, beinge Sondaie, appoynted
the oathe to be taken at a parishe church in Parris, the Ky
wythe his twoo brethren, entred in a coche, and tooke me in

sayd coache wth theym, and so passed throughe a great part of Parris to the Lovar, wher he dyed, and greate and sumptuous preparacion for hym, and a greate assemblee of noble men and gentlemen; and theare I, wythe her Ma^{tie} Imbassadours, dyed wythe the Kynge and his brethren.

Aftar dynar, at Evensonge tyme, the Kynge went to the aforesaid churche, and I have not seene a greater assemblee of people of all sortes, so that it was longe er the Kynge cowlde passe the prease, for all that his offyceers cowlde comaunde to make place. At his comynge to the said churche, w^{ch} was ryche furnished, and hanged wythe arras, and a place in the quyer dressed for the Kynge and the noble men, aftar we hadd browght hym to the quyer, and that he was sett, we retyred o'selves to a chappell on the syde of the said churche appoynted for us, where we remayned, accompanied wythe the Duke of Bolleyn, and Monsieur de Lansack, and others, untill the Kynge had hard his evensong, and then we weare sent for by the Prynce Dolphyn to the Kynge, and theare, at the highe aulter, he tooke his oathe; and afore he dyd sweare he towld me openhe that ther was nothing that ever contented hym better than this league betwene the Quene, his good systar, and hym, beinge so noble and worthie a Prynceys as she ys, and, as he dyd publykelye take the oathe, accordyng to the ordar in suche cases, so dyd he p^rnonnee that he dyd yt from his harte, as the thyng that he wolde tiewlye and justlye observe and keepe duryng his lyfe, wythe suche a shewe of a contentacyon as I have not seene the lyke. I noted his speache to me before dyner, spoken afore his brethren, and the greatest part of the Prynces and noble men theare, w^{ch} was that the ordar and custome hathe ben alwaies in Fraunce that when anie Kynge or Quene dyed, or other greate estate of their Howse, as nowe the Quene of Navare, they dyd mourne in theyr apparell, and dyd weare yt for one monthe at the leaste, but he, haveing recyved suche cawse to rejoyce at this amitie, whearto he wold sweare that daye, and for the greate honor he dyd beare to the Quene's Ma^{tie}, his good

EARL OF LINCOLN.

systar, he wolde weare his apparell accordynge to the contentmente of his mynde, and therfore he dyd put off all mourning, and indede he and his brethren weare rytchelic apparrelled.

The Kynge apon Sondaie last towlde me that bothe his brethren, for the greate honor they beare to her Ma^{tie} dyd desier to have me, and bothe her Ma^{ties} Imbassadoures, and the noble men and gentlemen in my companye, to dyne wth them uppon Tewesdaie and Wensdaie next followynge: so that uppon Tewesdaie we dyned wyth Monsieur, who sent for us twoo of the brethren of Monsieur de Momeransie, and Lansack, and Larchaunt, and dyvars others. And at owre comynge, the Duke and his brother dyd mete us wythowt his greate chamber, accompenied wythe the Duke Monpansier, and his son Prynce Dolphyn, and the Duks de Nevers and Bullyen, and Domall, and Guyse, and the Marshall de Cossie, and Danvyle, who all dyned wth hym. At after dynai Mons^r and his brother browght us to a chambre wheare was vearie many sorts of exelent musicke; and after that he hadd us to another large chambre, wheare there was an Italian playe, and dyvars vautars and leapers of dyvars sortes, vearie exelent; and thus that daie was spent. I doo heare that the Duke Dalanson doothe this daie make greate preparacion to feast us, wherof I wyll advartize you by my next lettars. And thus I take my leave of yo^r good L. wysHINGE yo^r L. long lief, in much honor. From the Lovar, in Parris, this Wensdaie, in the mornnyng, beyng the xviith of June, 1572.

Yo^r L.' assured frend to com^{ma}und,

E LINCOLN.

“ Her hathe ben hetherto no worde spokyn to me, ether by the Kynge or his mother, toochyng the Quene of Skotts, or the Duke Dalanson. Seurly, my Lord, here is shoid gret contentasyon of this amyte.”

The Earl of Lincoln died on the nineteenth of January, 1584, O. S. and lies buried in St George's Chapel, in Windsor Castle,

EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN.

under a superb monument of alabaster and porphyry, which was some years since repaired, with laudable care and nicety, by the direction of his noble descendant, the late Duke of Newcastle. He was thrice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow to Gilbert, Lord Talboys. By this lady, who had formerly admitted the caresses of Henry the eighth, he had three daughters; Bridget, married to Robert Dymock, of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire; Catherine, to William Lord Borough; and Margaret, to Charles, Lord Willoughby of Parham. By his second wife, Ursula, daughter of Edward, Lord Stourton, he had three sons: Henry, his successor; Edward; and Thomas; and two daughters; Anne, wife of William Ayscough, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire; and Frances, of Giles Bruges, Lord Chandos. He married thirdly Elizabeth, daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, who died without issue.



Engraved by H. Robinson

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

OB. 1536

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR ANNE MORE IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

BIOGRAPHY, like painting, derives a main interest from the contrast of strong lights and shadows. The glowing serenity of Italian skies, and the constant verdure of our own plains, delight us in nature, but on the canvas we look for tempestuous clouds, and rocky precipices, to break the uniformity of milder beauties ; and, however necessary it may be that the judgment should be assured of the truth of the representation, yet, at all events, the fancy must be gratified. So it is with the reality and the picture of human life. The virtues which adorned the living man are faint ornaments on his posthumous story, without the usual opposition of instances of infirmity and extravagance. Whether it be an envy of perfection, a hasty prejudice which may have induced us to suppose that it cannot exist in the human character, or a just experience of its extreme rarity, that renders the portrait displeasing, unnatural, or at best, insipid ; or whether, under the influence of the secret principle of selfishness, virtue in losing its power of conferring benefits, may not seem to have lost most of its beauty, are questions not to be solved ; the fact, however, is incontrovertible.

Under the pressure of these reflections, and of others nearly as discouraging, I sit down to write some account of the life of SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, whose character displays almost unvaried excellence ; whose splendour of talents, and purity of mind, were, if possible, exceeded by the simplicity and the kindness of his heart ; whose short, but matchless, career was closed by a death in which the highest military glory was even more than rivalled, not by those degrees of consolation usually derived from religion and patience, but by the piety of a saint, and the constancy of a stoic :

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

a life too which has so frequently been the theme of the biographer, of which all public facts are probably already recorded, and on which all terms of panegyric seem to have been exhausted.

Sir Philip Sidney was born on the twenty ninth of November, 1554 His family was of high antiquity, Sir William Sidney, his lineal ancestor, a native of Anjou, having accompanied Henry the Second from thence, and afterwards waited on that Prince as one of his Chamberlains. From this courtly origin the Sidneys retired suddenly into privacy, and settled themselves in Surrey and Sussex, where they remained for nearly four hundred years in the character of country gentlemen, till Nicholas Sidney, who was twelfth in descent from Sir William, married Anne, daughter of Sir William Brandon, and aunt and coheir to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, a match which gave him a sort of family connection to Henry the Eighth, and probably drew him to the court. William, his only son, became successively an esquire of the body, a chamberlain, steward, and gentleman of the privy chamber, to that Prince, whom he afterwards repeatedly served with distinguished credit both in his fleets and armies, and from whom he received the honour of knighthood. To this Sir William, who is thus especially spoken of, because he may be esteemed the principal founder of the subsequent splendour of his family, Henry granted, in 1547, several manors and lands which had lately fallen to the crown by the attainder of Sir Ralph Vane, particularly the honour and park of Penshurst in Kent. He too left an only son, Sir Henry Sidney, the dear friend of King Edward the Sixth, who died in his arms, one of Elizabeth's well-chosen knights of the garter, the celebrated governor of Ireland, and President of Wales; a wise statesman, a true patriot, and a most honourable and beneficent gentleman. Of his three sons, by Mary, eldest daughter of the great and miserable John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, the first was our Sir Philip Sidney.

With such zeal has every scattered fragment relative to this admirable person been preserved, that the circumstances of his

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

very infancy would form a collection more extensive than the whole history of many a long and eminent life. "Of his youth," says Sir Fulke Greville, one of his school-fellows, and his first biographer, "I will report no other than this; that though I lived with him, and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man; with such a steadiness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity, as carried grace and reverence above greater years, his talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind, so as even his teachers found something in him to observe and learn, above that which they had usually read or taught." In order that he might be near his family, which resided at Ludlow Castle during Sir Henry's presidency of Wales, he was placed at a school in the town of Shrewsbury, and seems to have been at no other; yet we find him, at the age of twelve years, writing to his father not only in Latin, but in French, and doubtless with correctness at least, since no censure is uttered on his epistles by his father, from whom we have the fact. It is communicated in a letter to him from Sir Henry, so excellent in every point of consideration, and more particularly as it should seem to have been the very mould in which the son's future character was cast, that I cannot help regretting that its great length, not to mention that it has lately been published by Dr. Zouch, should render it unfit to form a part of the present sketch.

He was removed to Christchurch in the University of Oxford in 1569, and placed under the care of Dr. Thomas Thornton, (who became through his means a Canon of that house), assisted by Robert Dorsett, afterwards Dean of Chester. Dr. Thornton was the gratuitous preceptor of Camden, and introduced him to Sidney, who became afterwards one of his most earnest patrons; and that faithful historian, who so well and so early knew him, has told us that "he was born into the world to shew unto his age a sample of ancient virtues." Sidney studied also for some time at Cambridge, and there confirmed that fast friendship with Greville which had commenced at their school, and which the latter, with a warmth

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

which the lapse of more than forty surviving years had not impaired, so emphatically commemorates on his own tomb, in the collegiate church of Warwick, by this inscription—"Fulke Greville, servant to Queen Elizabeth, counsellor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney."

He concluded his academical studies at seventeen years of age, and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1572, departed for France with Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and admiral, then appointed by Elizabeth her ambassador extraordinary. His uncle Leicester, who probably cared little for talents in which cunning had no place, gave him on that occasion a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then resident minister at Paris, in which he says "he is young and rawe, and no doubt shall find those countries, and the demeanours of the people, somewhat straunge to him, in which respect your good advice and counsell shall greatlie behove him," &c. He was received with great distinction. Charles the Ninth appointed him a gentleman of his bedchamber, and he became familiarly known to Henry, King of Navarre, and is said to have been highly esteemed by that great and amiable Prince. Charles's favour to him, it is true, had been considered but as a feature of the plan of that evil hour to lull the protestants into a false security during the preparations for the diabolical massacre of St. Bartholomew, which burst forth on the twenty-second of August, within a fortnight after he had been admitted into his office. Sidney, on that dreadful occasion, sheltered himself in the house of Walsingham, and quitted Paris as soon as the storm had subsided.

After a circuitous journey through Lorrain, by Strasburgh, and Heidelburgh, he rested for a time at Frankfort, where he became acquainted with the celebrated Hubert Languet, then resident minister there for the Elector of Saxony; a man who to the profoundest erudition joined the most intimate knowledge of the history, the laws, the political systems, and the manners of modern Europe, and whose eminent qualifications received their last polish

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

from an upright heart, and a benign temper. At an age when men usually retire to the society of the friends of their youth, and the flatterers of their opinions, this sage selected the youthful Sidney, not only as his pupil, but as the companion of his leisure, and the depository of his confidence. "That day on which I first beheld him with my eyes," says Languet, "shone propitious to me." They passed together most part of the three years which Sidney devoted to his travels, and, when absent from each other, corresponded incessantly by letters. Languet's epistles have been more than once published, and amply prove the truth of these remarks; nor are Sidney's testimonials of gratitude and affection to him unrecorded.

Having halted long at Vienna, he travelled through Hungary, and passed into Italy, where he resided chiefly at Venice and Padua, and, without visiting Rome, which, it is said, no doubt truly, that he afterwards much regretted, he returned to England about May, 1575, and immediately after, then little more than twenty-one years of age, was appointed ambassador to the Emperor Rodolph. The professed object of the mission was mere condolence on the death of that Prince's father; but Sidney had secret instructions to negotiate a union of the protestant states against the Pope and Philip of Spain; and the subsequent success of the measure has been ascribed to his arguments and address. While transacting these affairs he became acquainted with William, the first Prince of Orange, and with Don John of Austria; and those heroes, perhaps in every other instance uniformly opposed to each other, united, not only in their tribute of applause, but in an actual friendship with him. William, in particular, held a constant correspondence with him on the public affairs of Europe, and designated him as "one of the ripest and greatest counsellors of state of that day in Europe."

Sidney returned from his embassy in 1577, and passed the eight succeeding years undistinguished by any public appointment. His spirit was too high for the court, and his integrity too stubborn for

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

the cabinet. Elizabeth, who always expected implicit submission, could not long have endured such a servant ; yet he occasionally advised her with the utmost freedom, and she received his counsel with gentleness. Of this we have a remarkable instance in his letter to her, written at great length, in 1579, against the proposed match with the Duke of Alençon, after of Anjou, which may be found in the Cabala, and in Collins's Sidney Papers, and which Hume has pronounced to be written " with an unusual elegance of expression, as well as force of reasoning." Sir Fulke Greville calls him " an exact image of quiet and action, happily united in him, and seldom well divided in others ;" activity, however, was the ruling feature in the mechanism of his nature, while the keenest sensibility reigned in his heart. Perhaps, too, if we may venture to suppose that Sidney had a fault, those mixed dispositions produced in him their usual effect, an impatience and petulance of temper which the general grandeur of his mind was calculated rather to aggravate than to soften. Hence, in this his time of leisure, he fell into some excesses, which in an ordinary person, so much is human judgment swayed by the character of its subject, might perhaps rather have challenged credit than censure. Such were his quarrels with the Earls of Ormond and Oxford, the one too worthy, the other too contemptible, to be the object of such a man's resentment. Ormond had been suspected by Sidney of having endeavoured to prejudice the Queen against his father, and had therefore been purposely affronted by him ; but the Earl nobly said (as appears by a letter in Collins's Papers to Sir Henry Sidney), that he would accept no quarrel from a gentleman who was bound by nature to defend his father's cause, and who was otherwise furnished with so many virtues as he knew Mr. Philip to be." We are not told, however, that Sidney was satisfied. Oxford was a brute and a madman ; insulted him at a tennis-court, without a cause, and with the utmost vulgarity of manners and language : yet, so angry was Sidney, that the privy council, finding their endeavours to prevent a duel would be ineffectual, were obliged

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

to solicit Elizabeth to interpose her authority. Her argument on this occasion, for with him she condescended to argue, is too curious to be omitted. "She laid before him," says Sir Fulke Greville, "the difference in degree between earls and gentlemen; the respect inferiors owed to their superiors; and the necessity in princes to maintain their own creations, as degrees descending between the people's licentiousness and the anointed sovereignty of crowns; and how the gentleman's neglect of the nobility taught the peasant to insult upon both." Sidney combated this royal reasoning with freedom and firmness, but submitted. He retired, however, for many months, much disgusted, into the country; and, in that season of quiet, thus forced upon him, is supposed to have composed his *Arcadia*. These things happened in 1580; but the strongest and most blameable instance of his intemperance is to be found in a letter from him, of the 31st of May, 1578, to Mr. Edward Molineux, a gentleman of ancient family, and secretary to his father, whom he had hastily, and it seems unjustly, suspected of a breach of confidence. Let it speak for itself, and, saving us the pain of remarking further on it, allow us to take leave of the sole imperfection of Sidney's character.

"MR. MOLINEAUX,

"Few woordes are beste. My lettres to my father have come to the eys of some; neither can I condemne any but you for it. If it be so, yow have plaide the very knave with me, and so I will make yow know, if I have good prooffe of it: but that for so muche as is past; for that is to come, I assure yow before God, that if ever I knowe you do so muche as reede any lettre I wryte to my father, without his commandement, or my consente, I will thruste my dagger into yow; and truste to it, for I speake it in earnest. In the meane time farewell.

"By me,

"PHILIPPE SIDNEY."

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

About this time he represented the county of Kent in Parliament, where he frequently was actively engaged in the public business. He sat in 1581 on a most select committee for the devising new laws against the Pope, and his adherents. In the same year the proposals for the French marriage were earnestly renewed; the Duke of Anjou visited Elizabeth; and, after three months ineffectual suit, was, through her wisdom or folly, finally, but pompously dismissed. Sidney was appointed one of the splendid train which attended him to Antwerp, and we find him soon after his return, soliciting for employment. "The Queen," says he, in a letter to Lord Burghley, of the twenty-seventh of January, 1582, "at my L. of Warwick's request, hath bene moved to join me in his office of ordinance; and, as I learn, her Majestie yields gracious heering unto it. My suit is your L. will favour and furdre it, which I truly affirme unto your L. I much more desyre for the being busied in a thing of som serviceable experience than for any other comoditie, which is but small, that can arise from it." His request was unsuccessful, and it was perhaps owing to this disappointment that he devoted the whole of the next year to literary leisure, one result of which is said to have been his "Defence of Poesy." In 1583 he married Frances, the only surviving daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, by whom two years afterwards, he had an only child, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland; and on the thirteenth of January in that year was knighted at Windsor, as a qualification for his serving as proxy for John, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, at an installation of the order of the Garter.

It is strange that almost immediately after his disinterested marriage to a young woman of exquisite beauty and accomplishments, he should have laid a plan to accompany Drake, in his second voyage, all the great objects of which it was agreed should be committed to his management. The whole had been devised and matured with the utmost secrecy, and it should seem that he was actually on board when a peremptory mandate arrived from

the Queen to stay him. A speculation, the extravagance of which was perhaps equal to its honour, awaited his return. He was invited to enrol himself among the candidates for the crown of Poland, vacant in 1585 by the death of Stephen Bathori; and this historical fact affords a stronger general proof of the fame of his transcendent character than all the united testimonies even of his contemporaries. That a young man, sprung from a family not yet ennobled; unemployed, save in a solitary embassy, by his own sovereign; passing perhaps the most part of his time in literary seclusion; should have been solicited even to be certainly unsuccessful in so glorious a race, would be utterly incredible, were it not absolutely proved. Here Elizabeth's prohibition again interfered: "She refused," says Naunton, "to further his advancement, not only out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her times." She became, however, now convinced that this mighty spirit must have a larger scope for action. Sidney was sworn of the Privy Council, and, on the seventh of November in the same year appointed governor of Flushing, one of the most important of the towns then pledged to Elizabeth for the payment and support of her auxiliary troops, and General of the Horse, under his uncle Leicester, who was Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in the Low Countries. On the eighteenth of that month he arrived at Flushing, and, as it were by an act of mere volition, instantly assumed, together with his command, all the qualifications which it required. His original letters, preserved in our great national repository, abundantly prove that he was the ablest general in the field, and the wisest military counsellor in that service; of his bravery it is unnecessary to speak. I insert one of them addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham, and hitherto unpublished; not with the particular view of making that proof, but to give perhaps the strongest possible instance of the wonderful variety, as well as of the power of his rich mind: to exhibit the same Sidney whose pen had so lately been dedicated to the soft and sweet relaxation of poesy and pastoral romance, now writing

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

from his tent, amid the din of war, with the stern simplicity, and shortbreathed impatience, of an old soldier. The letter, indeed, is in many other respects of singular curiosity. The view which it imperfectly gives us of his earnest zeal for the Protestant cause, of Elizabeth's feelings towards him, and of the wretched provision made at home for the campaign, are all highly interesting.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

“ I receave dyvers letters from you, full of the discomfort which I see, and am sorry to see, y^t yow daily meet with at home ; and I think, such is y^e goodwill it pleaseth you to bear me, y^t my part of y^e trouble is something y^t troubles yow ; but I beseech yow let it not. I had before cast my count of danger, want, and disgrace ; and, before God, Sir, it is trew in my hart, the love of y^e caws doth so far over ballance them all, y^t, with God's grace, thei shall never make me weery of my resolution. If her Ma^{ty} wear the fountain, I wold fear, considering what I daily fynd, y^t we shold wax dry ; but she is but a means whom God useth, and I know not whether I am deceived, but I am faithfully persuaded, y^t if she shold wthdraw herself, other springes wold ryse to help this action : for methinkes I see y^e great work indeed in hand against the abusers of the world, wherein it is no greater fault to have confidence in man's power, then it is too hastily to despair of God's work. I think a wyse and constant man ought never to greeve whyle he doth plaie, as a man may sai, his own part truly, though others be out ; but if himself leav his hold becaws other marriners will be ydle, he will hardly forgive himself his own fault. For me, I can not promis of my own cource, no, not of the bccaws I know there is a eyer power y^t must uphold me, or else I shall fall ; but certainly I trust I shall not by other men's wantes be drawne from myself, therefore, good Sir, to whome for my particular I am more bownd then to all men besydes, be not troubled with my troubles, for I have seen the worst, in my judgement, beforehand, and wors then y^t can not bee.”

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

“ If the Queene pai not her souldiours she must loos her garri-
sons ; ther is no dout thereof ; but no man living shall be hable
to sai the fault is in me. What releefe I can do them I will. I
will spare no danger, if occasion serves. I am sure no creature
shall be hable to lay injustice to my charge ; and, for furdre doutes,
truly I stand not uppon them. I have written by Adams to the
council plainli; and thereof lett them determin. It hath been a
costly beginning unto me this war, by reason I had nothing pro-
portioned unto it ; my servantes unexperienced, and myself every
way unfurnished ; but heerafter, if the war continew, I shall pas
much better thorow with it. For Bergen up Zome, I delighted in
it, I confess, becaws it was neer the enemy ; but especially, having
a very fair hows in it, and an excellent air, I destenied it for my
wyfe ; but, fynding how yow deal there, and y^t ill paiment in my
absence thens might bring foorth som mischeef, and considering
how apt the Queen is to interpret every thing to my disadvantage,
I have resigned it to my Lord Willowghby, my very frend, and
indeed a vaillant and frank gentleman, and fit for y^t place ; there-
fore I pray yow know that so much of my regality is faln.”

“ I understand I am called very ambitious and prowde at home,
but certainly if thei know my hart thei woold not altogether so
judg me. I wrote to yow a letter by Will, my Lord of Lester’s
jesting plaier, enclosed in a letter to my wyfe, and I never had
answer thereof. It contained something to my Lord of Lester, and
council y^t som wai might be taken to stai my lady there. I, since,
dyvers tymes have writt to know whether you had receaved them,
but yow never answered me y^t point. I since find y^t the knave
deliver’d the letters to my Lady of Lester, but whether she sent
them yow or no I know not, but earnestly desyre to do, becaws I
dout there is more interpreted thereof. Mr. Erington is with me
at Flushing, and therefore I think myself at the more rest, having
a man of his reputation ; but I assure yow, Sir, in good earnest, I
fynd Burlas another manner of man than he is taken for, or I
expected. I would to God, Burne had obtained his suit. He is

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

ernest, but somewhat discomposed with consideration of his estate. Turner is good for nothing, and worst for y^e sownd of y^e hackbutes. We shall have a sore warre uppon us this sommer, wherein if appointment had been kept, and these disgraces forborn, w^{ch} have greatly weakened us, we had been victorious. I can sai no more at this tyme, but prai for your long and happy lyfe. At Utrecht, this 24th of March, 1586."

Your humble son,

PH. SIDNEY.

" I know not what to sai to my wyve's coming till you resolve better ; for if yow run a strange cource, I may take such a one heer as will not be fitt for anye of the feminin gender. I prai yow make much of Nichol. Gery. I have been vyldli deceived for armures for horsmen ; if yow cold speedily spare me any out of your armury, I will send them yow back as soon as my own be finished. There was never so good a father find a more troublesom son. Send Sir William Pelham, good Sir, and let him have Cleike's place, for we need no clerkes, and it is most necessary to have such a one in the councell."

On the fifth of May, following the date of this letter, he lost his father, and on the ninth of August, his mother. Providence thus mercifully spared them the dreadful trial which was fast approaching. Sir Philip, having highly distinguished himself in many actions of various fortune, commanding on the twenty fourth of September a detachment of the army, met accidentally a convoy of the enemy, on its way to Zutphen, a strong town of Guelderland, which they were then besieging. He attacked it with a very inferior force, and an engagement of uncommon fury ensued, in which having had one horse shot under him, and being remounted, he received a musket shot a little above the left knee, which shattered the bone, and passed upwards towards the body. As they were bearing him from the field of battle towards the camp, (for the anecdote, though already so often told, cannot be too often

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

repeated,) he became faint and thirsty from excess of bleeding, and asked for water, which he was about to drink, when observing the eye of a dying souldier fixed on the glass, he resigned it to him, saying "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine." He was carried to Arnheim, and variously tortured by a multitude of surgeons and physicians for three weeks. Amputation, or the extraction of the ball, would have saved his inestimable life, but they were unwilling to practise the one, and knew not how to perform the other. In the short intervals which he spared during his confinement from severe exercises of piety he wrote verses on his wound, and made his will at uncommon length, and with the most scrupulous attention. Of that instrument, which is inserted, with some mistakes, in Collins's Sidney Papers, Sir Fulke Greville most justly says, "This will of his, will ever remain for a witness to the world that those sweet and large, even dying, affections in him, could no more be contracted with the narrowness of pain, grief, or sickness, than any sparkle of our immortality can be privately buried in the shadow of death." It is dated the last day of September, 1586, and on the seventeenth of October he added a codicil, with many tokens of regard to intimate friends. A small but interesting fact disclosed by that codicil, has hitherto escaped the notice of his biographers. It ends with these words; "I give to my good friends, Sir George Digby, and Sir Henry Goodier, each a ring of His dictation was interrupted by death.

Thus ended a life, doubtless of great designs, but of few incidents. The jealousy and timidity of Elizabeth denied to Sir Philip Sidney any share in her state confidence; excluded him from a cabinet which he would have enlightened by his counsels, and purified by the example of his honour and integrity; and devoted him to an honourable banishment, and a premature death. Such a man should have had such a master as Henry the Fourth of France, and a concord of all that was wise, and virtuous, and amiable, might have gone far towards gaining the empire of Europe, by winning the hearts of its people. But he was

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

consigned to almost private life, and a strict observer of his mind and heart would have been his best biographer. Most of the inestimable story which such a one might have preserved for our delight and our instruction is lost for ever. Sir Fulke Greville, who however, entirely loved him, wanted the talent, or the feeling, or both, which might have excited and enabled him to record innumerable effusions of goodness, and wisdom, and genius, imbibed by himself, even at the fountain head; but his book, which has been the chief groundwork for subsequent writers contains little but meagre facts, and vapid eulogium. Those who would study then with precision the detail of Sidney's character must seek it in his writings, and I regret that the proposed limits of the present publication are too confined to allow of disquisition to that effect. I shall conclude, however, by enumerating them, adding a very few remarks.

We do not find that any of his works were published while he lived. The *Arcadia*, which has been translated into most of the living tongues, and so frequently reprinted, first appeared in 1591; as did "*Astrophel and Stella*," a long series of Sonnets and Songs, intended, as is said, to express his passion for the fair Lady Rich. "*The Defence of Poesy*," a critical rhapsody, full of classical intelligence, and acute observation, was first printed in 1595; these only of his works were published singly. Other of his Sonnets, a poem called "*A Remedy for Love*," and "*The Lady of May*," a masque, have been subjoined to different editions of the *Arcadia*. In a volume published in 1600, and now lately reprinted, with the title of "*England's Helicon, or a Collection of Songs*," are many from his pen. His answer to that furious volume of vengeance against his uncle, well known by the title of "*Leicester's Commonwealth*," remained in manuscript so late as 1746, when Collins inserted it in his fine publication of the *Sidney Papers*. There are a few other pieces, both in verse and prose, which, having been perhaps falsely ascribed to him, I forbear to mention.

Notwithstanding all that we have heard of Sir Philip Sidney's

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

early fondness for literature, I am inclined to think that, had he been placed in his proper sphere, we might never have known him as an author. The character of his talents, the form of his education, the habits of his early society, and his own earnest inclination, combined to qualify him for a statesman of the first order. Disappointed in his favourite views, his activity probably sought relief in literary exercise, and hence we find more of the mind than of the heart, more judgment than fancy, in the productions of his pen. He fled to the muse, perhaps, rather for refuge than enjoyment, and courted her more in the spirit of a friend than of a lover; but the warmth of the attachment was sufficient to produce a flame which was always bright and pure, and which, if it did not dazzle, at least never failed to enlighten. His works in general may be characterized as the choicest fruits of universal study, and unbounded recollection, selected by a mind which while it possessed equal measures of the most powerful vigour, and the most refined delicacy, was ruled by the highest sentiments of religious, moral, and social duty. He was deficient in originality, but the splendor of his virtues and of his talents awed criticism to silence, or charmed it into unqualified approbation; till a writer, confessedly at the head of his own most agreeable class, stood boldly forward, not to start that objection, but to deny nearly all which the united suffrages of Europe had for two centuries implicitly agreed to grant. Lord Orford, in his sketch of the life of Sir Fulke Greville, calls Sir Philip Sidney “an astonishing object of temporary admiration;” discovers his *Arcadia* to be a tedious, lamentable, pedantic, pastoral, romance;” and insults the sublimity of his exit by ascribing it to “the rashness of a volunteer.” But the noble writer delighted in biographical paradoxes, and perhaps in controverting received opinions, and high authorities. It was natural enough for the champion of Richard the Third to turn his weapons against Sir Philip Sidney, as well as to endeavour to pull down the character of Lord Falkland, from the height on which it had been placed by the glowing pen of the

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

immortal Clarendon. But a truce with such specks of criticism. Let them who are able and willing to judge for themselves, turn to the Defence of Poesy for the prodigious extent and variety of Sidney's studies, and for his judicious application of the results of them : let them contemplate, even in the very first pages of the Arcadia, the readiness and playfulness of his wit, and in the whole innumerable scattered proofs of his speculative and practical wisdom ; let them compare his style, both in verse and prose, with those of contemporary authors ; and they will turn, with a sentiment almost amounting to anger, from a solitary judgment founded in caprice, and uttered at least with indiscretion.

However imprudent it may be to place in the same view with my own observations a passage so finely conceived, and so exquisitely expressed, I cannot conclude, without citing in justification of some of the opinions which I have presumed here to give, the words of an admirable living critic. " Sidney," says he, in comparing his poetical talents with those of Lord Buckhurst, " displays more of the artifices, and less of the inspiration of Poetry. His command of language, and the variety of his ideas are conspicuous. His mind exhibits an astonishing fund of acquired wealth ; but images themselves never seem to overcome him with all the power of actual presence. The ingenuity of his faculties supplies him with a lively substitute ; but it is not vivid, like the reality."



Engraved by J Thomson

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

OB 1587

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF MORTON

MARY STUART,

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

THE writer of these memoirs having formerly been the humble instrument of discovering and promulgating many very curious particulars of Mary's eventful story, it might perhaps be expected that he should be more inclined, and even better qualified, than many others, now to treat of it somewhat at large; neither of those motives however, were he sensible of such, could tempt him to assume the task. All the stores of history and tradition, of public records and private collections, have been already ransacked; argument and reasonable conjecture have been exhausted; the fields even of imagination and fancy have been traversed in search of bright or hideous visions to enhance the charms of her person and her wit, and to aggravate the horror of her sufferings. Nay, while in the fear of saying too much I am thus apologising for saying so little, appears a complete "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots," from the ever employed and ever instructive pen of Mr George Chalmers, who has once more journeyed over the whole of this interesting ground; and seems to have left no stone unturned which might by possibility have concealed any novel object of his research. The whole result is surely now before the public. It comprehends a tale which the heart has eagerly accepted from all the passions, and fixed irrevocably in the memory. To repeat it would be impertinent; to enlarge it, till new discoveries shall be made, is impossible.

The only object then of the few following lines is to give some account of the picture an engraving from which accompanies them. The numerous portraits hitherto ascribed to this Princess

MARY STUART,

are as various and as dissimilar as the circumstances of her life, or the features of her character, agreeing only in the single fact of representing her as eminently beautiful. No strong internal presumption, no inveterate tradition, tends to distinguish the authenticity of any one of them: the several professed resemblances of her countenance have excited almost as much doubt and controversy as the disputed points of her history; and thus a genuine likeness of this celebrated lady may be reckoned among the first of the elegant and tasteful desiderata of the present age. How far the beautiful specimen of two arts which is before us may tend to decide the question must rest in great measure on the degree of credit that may be esteemed due to a report which has been regularly handed down in the family of the noble owner of the picture, and which must necessarily be here prefaced by the brief recital of a small portion of Mary's history.

In the year 1567, which is well known to have been distinguished, fatally for her reputation, by the murder of her husband, and her marriage to the infamous Bothwell, the most powerful among the nobility of Scotland associated for the declared purposes of separating her from that wretch, and protecting the person of the young Prince, her son. With the usual fate of such combinations, they went much further; they made their Queen a captive; led her triumphantly through the army with which they had strengthened themselves; and, having imprisoned her closely in the Castle of Lochleven, deposed her, and crowned her son. The owner of the castle was a Douglas, nearly related to the celebrated Earl of Morton, the most considerable person of the confederates, and who had been commissioned by them to accept her surrender. Here she remained nearly twelve months. At length, after the failure of various plans to liberate her, formed by those who still remained true to her interest, she accomplished it herself, by gaining over George Douglas, brother of her keeper. On this young man, under the age of twenty, and already a slave to that beauty, the magic of which no one could wholly resist,

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

she employed all the graces of mind and manners with which nature and art had so abundantly furnished her, and, to leave no passion of his heart unassailed which might be rendered subservient to her view, is said to have tempted his ambition by giving him hopes that he might obtain her hand. When she had completed her charm, she besought him to aid her escape. He instantly complied, for who could have hesitated? and, by means which, however curious and interesting, it is not to the present purpose to recapitulate, restored her to freedom.

The picture which has furnished the plate before us has been preserved with the greatest care from time immemorial in the mansion of Dalmahoy, the principal seat in Scotland of the Earl of Morton; on the upper part of it is inscribed, with a modesty of assertion which tends to favour the report of its originality, “Mary, Queen of Scots, said to have been painted during her confinement in Lochleven Castle;” and the noble Earl who at present possesses it, has enhanced the value of his permission to place an engraving from it among the chief ornaments of this work, by condescending to state that, according to an invariable tradition in his lordship’s family, it was once the property of George Douglas, the liberator of Mary, and that it passed from him, together with other curious relics of that unhappy Princess, to his eminent relation, James, fourth Earl of Morton, who has been mentioned above, in whose posterity it has remained to the present day.

From the same picture also professes to have been engraved a plate which supplies the frontispiece to the first volume of Mr. Chalmers’s new work, and its striking dissimilitude to the portrait here presented renders some reluctant remarks on it highly necessary in this place. It is scarcely too much to say that neither the features, nor the general character of countenance, given in the two engravings, bear even the slightest resemblance to each other, and this variance between two copies taken from the same original, which is allowed to possess stronger claims to

MARY STUART,

authenticity than any other painting, is the more distressing, as it was hoped that the engraving before us would have done much towards putting to rest the long disputed question as to Mary's features, and the skill and talents of the painter who copied the original, together with the clear opinion of its correctness, after actual comparison with the painting, expressed by the noble Earl who possesses the picture, may be received as pledges for its exact fidelity. Having thus established the claim of the engraving here presented, to be considered as the genuine representation of Mary's portrait, the failure in that of Mr. Chalmers's alone remains to be accounted for.

That gentleman discloses to us in his preface a new and most extraordinary discovery by which he has been enabled, with the aid of an artist, of whom he expresses a high opinion, to produce, *de novo*, a correct portrait of Mary ; and one of the most singular features of the invention is that the distracting variety of those which have hitherto individually pretended to originality constitutes the very source which gives undoubted authenticity to his. Having spoken of those perplexities of which no one before had known how to take the advantage, Mr. Chalmers says, "in this state of uncertainty with regard to the person of the Scottish Queen, I employed a very ingenious artist to paint that celebrated Queen from such sketches, pictures, and other materials, as might be laid before his intelligent eyes: at the same time I presumed to think that her features might be settled by ascertaining the facts relating to her person like other matters of history." In other words, that the artist was to copy from one picture a pair of eyes, justified by the authority of Melvil ; a nose from another, corroborated by the report of Keith ; from a coin, a smile which had been cursed by Knox ; and from a figure on a tomb, a frown which Buchanan had recorded to have been levelled at him ; and the like ; and from the combination of these pictorial and historical tesserae Mr. Chalmers's hopes were at length fulfilled by the acquisition of a portrait which, to use

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

his own words, "has been very generally admired for its truth, and its elegance." From this picture was engraved the plate which is prefixed to the second volume of his work.

Now, to speak seriously, Mr. Chalmers, whose kindness and candour I know too well to expect his displeasure at these remarks, has left, fortunately for us, to the idle and the careless those lighter studies which employ the mind without fatigue, and gratify the fancy without informing the understanding. A votary to history, his affection for it has led him to give too large a credit to its descriptive powers, while a negligence of the more delicate and less important theory of the human face divine has left him at liberty to suppose the impossibility, that a mere junction of features, however correctly each may have been individually represented and copied, should produce what we commonly call a likeness. The artist who could propose or encourage such a suggestion merits not so mild a judgment.

To conclude, the fact seems to be that the picture which assumes to have been so whimsically composed (vol. 2.) was ill copied from that which is stated to be a copy from the Douglas picture, (vol. 1) to which it has scarcely any resemblance (except in the dress, in which the artist condescendingly tells us in Mr. Chalmers's preface, he "did not chuse to make any fanciful alteration") or vice versa: in short, that the artist judged it necessary to produce somehow an evident agreement between the two. It need only be added that the sole view of these observations is to record a caveat against any inference adverse to the authenticity of the portrait here presented, which might possibly be drawn from a careless comparison of it with either of the two engravings in Mr. Chalmers's history of Mary, and this is rendered the more necessary by an anticipation of the respect which will undoubtedly and justly be paid to that work. A jealousy of fair reputation, and a regard to weighty interests, equally excusable, have demanded this explanation.



Engraved by J. Cochrane

ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER

OB 1588

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

THIS mighty Peer, whose history will ever remain a memorial of the injustice and the folly, as well as of the unbounded power, of his Sovereign, was the fifth son of the equally mighty, but less fortunate, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford. The father's greatness shot forth with the rapidity and the splendor of a vast meteor, and was as suddenly lost in darkness : the son's, planet-like, rose somewhat more slowly, and traversed its hemisphere in a more regular obedience to the power from which it derived its motion and its brilliancy. It obeyed however no other power, for Leicester offended against all laws, both divine and human. He seems not to have possessed a single virtue, nor was he highly distinguished by the qualities of his understanding ; but the unlimited favour of Elizabeth, which for many years rendered him perhaps the most powerful subject in the world, invested him with a factitious importance, while, on his part, by a degree of hypocrisy so daring that it rather confounded than deceived the minds of men he contrived to avoid open censure. Even flattery however seems to have been ashamed to raise her voice for him while he lived, and the calm and patient research of after times, with all its habitual respect for the memory of the illustrious dead, has busied itself in vain to find a single bright spot on his character.

He was born in or about the year 1532. His father, who surrounded the person of Edward the sixth with his offspring, procured for him in 1551 the post of one of the six Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and about the same time that of master of the King's buck-hounds. Edward, with the common readiness of

ROBERT DUDLEY,

youth, accepted him as a familiar companion, and evinced towards him a partiality bordering on favouritism. On the discomfiture of the feeble attempt to place his sister in law, Jane Grey, on the Throne, and the accession of Mary, he was imprisoned in the Tower, merely, as it should seem, because he was his father's son, for history furnishes us with no trace of his active participation in that design. He was indicted however of high treason, and prudently pleading guilty, received sentence of death, apparently as a matter of form, and soon after a pardon, and was liberated on the eighteenth of October, 1551. Mary indeed immediately took him in some measure into her favour, and we find in Strype's Memorials that after her marriage to Philip he attached himself particularly to that Prince, and was chosen "to carry messages between the King and Queen, riding post on such occasions, and neglecting nothing that might ingratiate himself with either of them." It was at the intercession of Philip, as all historians agree, that such of the prisoners for Jane's forlorn cause as escaped with life were set at liberty, nor is it less certain that the rigours of Elizabeth's captivity were softened through his influence. It may be very probably conjectured, though it has hitherto escaped the observation of historical speculatists, that Dudley was the secret instrument of correspondence between the King and that Princess, and that the dawn of her enormous subsequent favour towards him may be very reasonably ascribed to the impression made on her youthful heart, in a season of danger and misfortune, by a young man who possessed every natural and artificial qualification to win feminine affection.

She appointed him immediately on her accession to the distinguished office of Master of the Horse, and shortly after, on the fourth of June, 1559, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and sworn of the Privy Council. These great preferments were presently followed by grants of estates to an immense value, among which we find his celebrated manor and castle of Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, nor was the Crown the sole source of

EARL OF LEICESTER.

his growing power and wealth, for numerous public bodies, particularly of the ecclesiastical order, in the hope of securing to their respective interests the vast influence which he evidently possessed over the mind of the Queen, elected him to their stewardships, and other municipal offices, which, not to mention the sums which he annually derived from them, extended his authority into almost every part of the realm. That such an extravagance of good fortune should have excited envy and competition might reasonably be expected, but few ever ventured to appear in open rivalry towards him. Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, perhaps the most virtuous and high spirited, and certainly one of the wisest, of Elizabeth's servants, openly opposed himself from public motives to the secret design which Dudley undoubtedly entertained of becoming her husband, and was joined by Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who had with less reserve aspired to that proud distinction : the rest submitted with despair, or sullen patience, to a power which seemed impregnable by the attacks of faction or the machinations of intrigue : even Burghley, esteemed as he was for his sagacity and probity, condescended to profess for the favourite an esteem which he could not have felt Elizabeth, as though for the express purpose of giving a colour to his arrogant view of partaking her bed, now proved to himself and to the world that she thought him worthy of a royal spouse, by proposing him in form as a husband to the young Queen of Scots, by whom she knew he would be rejected. Thus he stood in the Court of his mistress, when on the twenty-eighth of September, 1564, she raised him to the dignity of Baron of Denbigh, and on the following day to the Earldom of Leicester, and towards the end of that year the University of Oxford elected him their Chancellor. He accompanied Elizabeth soon after in a visit to that learned body, and was received with a respect and deference perhaps never before conceded to any of her subjects, and which in fact could not properly have been due to any one beneath the rank of her consort.

ROBERT DUDLEY,

In the mean time however the Queen, by a treaty of marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria which bore every mark of sincerity, cast a lasting damp on his proud hopes. Leicester had so far presumed on her partiality as to oppose the negotiation, not only in argument with herself and her Council, but even publicly, and was rebuked by her with a severity which, while it convinced him of the vanity of his splendid pretensions, left him no room to doubt that self love, and a resolution to preserve her independence, were the ruling features of her character. His disappointment was confined to the frustration of this single view, for in all other matters her favour and his influence remained unimpaired; and, now at leisure to pursue a more ordinary track of ambition, he sought, with the aid of a most profound dissimulation, to maintain the possession of them, nor was this caution unnecessary, for the repulse which he had lately experienced from the Queen had disclosed to him enemies perhaps before unsuspected, and encouraged his rivals to a more open shew of competition. Among the latter was Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, a nobleman not only invested with the utmost importance that splendor of descent, immense wealth, and no very distant kindred to Elizabeth, could bestow, but one of the few of her subjects whom a party in her Court and Council had flattered with the hope of gaining her hand. Leicester determined on the ruin of a man thus in every way hateful to him, and, as it could be accomplished only by treachery, insinuated himself into the confidence of the Duke, who was distinguished by the generosity and simplicity of his character. Norfolk communicated to him the plan which he had formed for a marriage with the Queen of Scots, with all his weighty dependencies; was directed in every step towards it by his counsel; and when it approached to fruition was betrayed by him to Elizabeth; who indeed it may be reasonably suspected had employed him from the beginning for that purpose.

These detestable facts have been fully proved against him, but it is to the last degree difficult, not to say impossible, such were

EARL OF LEICESTER.

the depth of his artifices, and the dead secrecy of his instruments, to obtain clear historical evidence of the most remarkable features of his conduct in public measures, and towards public servants. His agency was felt, but not seen; or if those who were bound by his spells sometimes obtained a glimpse of the inchanter, he was presently again shrouded in utter darkness. Much however has been proved and more inferred from circumstances. Having overthrown the Duke of Norfolk, he conceived about the same time a bitter hatred against the Queen of Scots, and Burghley, who had been the intimate and confidential friend of that unfortunate nobleman. It was probably the offspring of fear, for there can be little doubt that each of them possessed damning proofs of his late treachery. The rigour of Mary's tedious captivity, the strange vacillations of Elizabeth's policy regarding her, and her tragical end, may be most reasonably ascribed to his influence over the worst passions of his infatuated mistress; yet he found means to impress on the mind of Mary a persuasion that he commiserated her sufferings, and she more than once appealed to his pity. His reiterated insinuations against Cecil were however always unsuccessful. Elizabeth regarded that great minister with feelings directly opposite to those of fear and anger, and all her selfishness was awakened to protect him. Leicester at length ventured to quit for a moment the strong-hold of his accustomed obscurity, and allowed the faction of which he was the acknowledged head to frame a regular accusation of Burghley to the Privy Council, but the plan was discovered to the Queen before it was fully matured, and the favourite was once more reprimanded by her. Original letters from him to the Treasurer, written at this precise period, stuffed with the most fulsome flattery, and professions of the warmest friendship, are still extant.

He is said to have appeased his vengeance by the sacrifice of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a bold and busy politician, who, after having been deeply concerned in the negotiations between Mary

ROBERT DUDLEY,

and the Duke of Norfolk, unexpectedly quitted Leicester's party, and attached himself to Burghley. He died very suddenly in the Earl's house, as it was industriously reported, of a pleurisy, after partaking of a supper to which Leicester had invited him, but little doubt was entertained that he had been taken off by poison, and the malice with which the favourite presently afterwards pursued his family almost established the fact. That Leicester dealt in that horrible method of assassination cannot be reasonably controverted, however we may be inclined to question some particular charges of that nature among the many which have been made against him. The honourable and amiable Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to whom, both for public and private causes, he was a determined enemy, and whose gallant services in Ireland he had cruelly thwarted and depreciated, perished in that country, with a clear impression on his mind, corroborated by the opinion of all who happened to be then about him, that his death had been so procured. The Countess of Lenox, the mode of whose royal descent presented an obstacle to the possible inheritance of the Crown, derived from George Duke of Clarence, by Leicester's kinsman and favourite the Earl of Huntingdon, a speculation which he much cherished, died, with strong symptoms of poison, presently after having received a visit from him. Nay, it has been generally reported, though probably untruly, that he retained in his establishment two persons, an Italian and a Jew, who were adepts in the diabolical art of preparing the means for such sacrifices, but the very exaggerations of the general charge on his memory tend to prove that it must have been in some degree well founded.

Yet this iniquitous man, not less odious in his private life, as we shall presently see, than disgraceful to herself and her Court, an enemy and torment to her ministers; the prime patron of the Puritans, whom she secretly regarded perhaps with more terror than the Papists; not only maintained his ground, but gradually rose in the estimation of Elizabeth to the last hour of his life.

EARL OF LEICESTER

She seemed even anxious to publish to the world the distinction in which she held him. Her celebrated visit to him at his mansion of Kenilworth in July 1575 was protracted to the length of nineteen days, an honour never on any other occasion granted by her to a subject. In June 1577 she so far forgot herself as to write thus to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury—"Our very good cousins—Being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester how honourably he was not only lately received by you, our cousin the Countess, at Chatsworth, and his diet by you both discharged at Buxtons, but also presented with a very rare present, we should do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him but to our own self, reputing him as another self, and therefore ye may assure yourselves that we, taking upon us the debt not as his but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge the same in such honourable sort as so well deserving creditors as ye shall never have cause to think ye have met with an ungrateful debtor." Numerous instances of this extravagant folly might be cited, and indeed Leicester's arrogance and presumption under such temptations form the most defensible part of his character. The degrading exposure of her motive however was yet to come—at this period he once more asked her hand, and was once more refused. Enraged at the disappointment, he instantly married, without making any communication to her of his intention, and Elizabeth, in utter contempt, not only of the delicacy of her sex and the dignity of her station, but of all principles of law and justice which could bear any relation to the case, tore him from the arms of his bride, and imprisoned him in a little fortress which then stood in the park at Greenwich. This transport of angry jealousy however soon subsided. Leicester was released, and restored to full favour, and is said to have consoled himself for his short disgrace with schemes for the assassination of Simier, an agent from the Duke of Anjou, who was then

ROBERT DUDLEY,

in London, negotiating for the projected marriage of that Prince to Elizabeth, and whom he suspected to have apprised her of his own secret nuptials.

This treaty, which had been for a while suspended, was renewed in 1581, when a more honourable embassy arrived from the French Court, and Leicester, who had now thought fit to assume the character of an advocate for the proposed union, was named among those who were appointed to confer with the commissioners. Anjou soon followed, but the strange caprice of Elizabeth on this occasion, which forms a remarkable and well known feature in the history of the time, finally disgusted him so highly, that, after three months' residence in her Court, he suddenly embarked in the beginning of the succeeding year for the Low Countries, the government of which he had lately accepted. She indulged Leicester with the triumph of convoying thither his illustrious and rejected rival, and in his visit he probably laid the groundwork for that proud appointment to which by the joint act of herself and those States he was soon after nominated. He returned to a Court and Council agitated by the discovery of some designs lately projected by the friends of the unhappy Mary, and yet more by doubts and suspicions. He seized the opportunity of displaying his loyalty, and of indulging his hatred of the royal prisoner, by proposing to the nobility and gentry a bond of association by which they should engage themselves to pursue, even unto death, those who might form any plan against the life, or crown, or dignity, of Elizabeth. Mary was in fact the secret object of this widely extended menace, but the terror which it inspired having for a time paralysed the efforts of her adherents, he became impatient of her existence, and boldly moved the Queen that she should be taken off by poison. Elizabeth, nothing loth, undoubtedly proposed it to her ministers, for it is historically proved that Walsingham, practised, and even hacknied as he was in a sort of treachery legalized by the fatal necessity of States, protested against so heinous a measure, and insisted that

EARL OF LEICESTER.

she should not be put to death without at least the forms of judicial enquiry.

It was just at this period that a deadly invective, under the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," or at least so entitled in subsequent editions, issued from the press in Flanders, and was presently dispersed in vast abundance throughout England, and indeed in most of the nations of Europe. It consisted of a circumstantial relation of all the crimes and faults which had been at any time laid to the charge of the favourite, delivered with the utmost artifice of affected candour and simplicity, and intermixed with political reflections, tending to prove that every cause of complaint which existed in England might be traced to his malign influence. No publication ever before obtained so sudden and extensive a circulation. It was read with the utmost avidity, and the ridiculous efforts for its suppression made by Elizabeth, whose policy where Leicester was concerned always gave way to her passions, served but to excite to the highest pitch the curiosity of her subjects. She compelled her Council to address letters to the lieutenants of counties, and other public functionaries, charging them to prohibit the perusal of the pamphlet, and to punish severely the dispersers of it, and, not content with this degree of folly, made them insert a declaration (to use their own words) that "her Majesty testified in her conscience before God that she knew in assured certainty the books and libels published against the Earl to be most scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true." Her subservient Council, most of the members of which utterly detested him, outran their mistress in vehement assertions of his innocence—assertions which they knew to be false, and of the truth of which, had they been otherwise than false, no evidence could possibly have been obtained. There is indeed little reason to doubt any of the allegations of this celebrated libel. Sir Philip Sidney, who was Leicester's nephew, sat down in all the pride and heat of youth, and full consciousness of talent, to refute them, and almost wholly

ROBERT DUDLEY,

failed. Despairing of success, and perhaps at length deterred from attempting it in such a cause by that fine moral feeling which distinguished him, he laid his work aside, after considerable progress, the fruit of which remained unpublished till the appearance, of late years, of the Sidney Papers.

In the following year, 1585, the United Provinces, yet unable to establish their independence, reiterated a request formerly made to Elizabeth to become their Sovereign. Anxious at once to avoid the jealous imputation of an ambitious desire of extending her dominion, to curb the power of Spain, and to aid the Protestant cause, she refused the offer, but readily agreed to furnish them with a powerful aid of troops and money. Leicester solicited, and instantly obtained, the command of this expedition, and was received, on his landing at Flushing, of which his nephew Sidney had been previously appointed Governor, with all the respect due to a Viceroy, which character, in contradiction to his instructions, he instantly assumed. The States, eager to persuade Philip the second that Elizabeth exercised a virtual sovereignty over them, invested the Earl by a solemn act with supreme authority, which he readily accepted, and, amidst the gorgeous festivities prepared to celebrate his exaltation, letters arrived from her, both to himself and to the States, in a tone of unexampled fury.—“We little thought,” said she to Leicester, “that one whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour above all others, would with so great contempt have slighted and broken our commands in a matter of so great consequence, and so highly concerning us and our honour,” &c. This was worthy of the daughter of Henry the eighth, but the weakness of Elizabeth presently succeeded. Leicester returned a submissive explanation, and was instantly restored to full favour, nor does it appear even that the appointment which had produced this ebullition of capricious wrath was revoked. His service however in the Low Countries was marked by misfortune and disgrace. Totally deficient in military experience, he found himself opposed

EARL OF LEICESTER.

to the Prince of Parma, one of the first generals of the age, and a politician also of no mean fame ; and his admirable nephew, whose advice had aided him in the Council, and whose example had invigorated him in the field, fell a sacrifice to the intemperance of his valour before the walls of Zutphen. The States became envious of his authority, and thwarted the measures of his government, already weak and inefficient, and he increased their jealousy by striving to ingratiate himself with the people. He returned to England, disgusted but unwillingly ; the faction which he had formed prevailed on the States again to solicit his presence, and on the twenty-fifth of June, 1587, he landed in Zealand, with new levies. Fresh discords however arising, Elizabeth, with his concurrence, finally recalled him in the succeeding November, and shielded him by her authority against a regular charge of mal-administration in the Low Countries which had been prepared before his arrival, and was now preferred to the Privy Council by a party of his enemies, headed by the Lord Buckhuist, whom the Queen had lately sent thither to learn the true state of affairs, and who was rewarded for his pains by a vote of censure, and an imprisonment of several months.

Leicester had now reached the highest pinnacle of favour and power. Elizabeth could refuse him nothing, and her ministers, even Burghley himself, seem to have trembled at his nod. All the most important commands, civil and military, in the nation were in the hands of his relations or friends ; to the offices already held by himself she had very lately added those of Steward of her Household, and Chief Justice of the Forests south of Trent ; and in the summer of 1588, placed him at the head of the army which she had raised to resist the expected Spanish invasion. She thus concluded her speech to these troops, when she reviewed them at Tilbury—" Rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms ; I myself will be your General, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already by your forwardness that you have deserved rewards and crowns ;

ROBERT DUDLEY

and I do assure you, on the word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my Lieutenant General shall be in my stead, than whom never Prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject." In this moment, such is the insatiable thirst of ambition, he solicited Elizabeth to appoint him to the office, not less unusual than enormously powerful and dignified, of Lieutenant, or Vicegerent, of her Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and even this, tenacious as she was of her royal authority, she readily conceded to him. It is said that a patent for this mighty appointment was ready for the Great Seal, when Burghley, and her Chancellor Hatton, ventured to remonstrate with her, and so far succeeded as to obtain leave to suspend for some days that ratification. In the meantime Leicester left London for a short sojournment at Kenilworth castle, and on his way thither stopped at his house of Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, where he was seized by a rapid fever, and expired on the fourth of September, 1588.

From the foregoing sketch I have hitherto excluded any particulars of the domestic life of this most remarkable person. They will be found, singularly enough, considering the cast of his character, to be little concerned with his public story, the chain of which they would therefore but have served to disconnect. All parts of his conduct however, morally viewed, were in horrible harmony, for the man was as abominably wicked as the statesman and courtier.

Leicester, at the age of eighteen, married Anne, or Amy, daughter and heir of Sir John Robsart, a gentleman of Norfolk, distinguished by antiquity, indeed splendor, of descent, and by his great possessions in that county. They were wedded, as Edward the sixth in whose presence the nuptials were solemnized states in his journal, on the fourth of June, 1550, and lived together, with what degree of cordiality we are not informed, for ten years, but had no children. It is scarcely to be doubted that he caused this lady to be assassinated, and the circumstances of the time, as well as of the case itself, tend to press on his memory this

EARL OF LEICESTER.

dreadful charge perhaps more heavily than any other of the same character. Her death occurred on the eighth of September, 1560, at the very period when the lofty hope of obtaining the hand of his Sovereign may be clearly presumed to have reigned with the strongest sway in his overheated mind. He sent her, with what avowed motive does not appear, to the solitary manor house of Cumnor, in Berkshire, a village not far from Oxford, inhabited by one of his train, named Anthony Forster. Thither she was shortly followed by Sir Richard Verney, another of his retainers, and a few days after, these persons having sent all her servants to Abingdon Fair, and no one being with her but themselves, she died in consequence, as they reported, of a fall down a staircase. But "the inhabitants of Cumnor," says Aubrey, in whose history of Berkshire all that could be collected on the subject is minutely detailed, "will tell you there that she was conveyed from her usual chamber where she lay to another, where the bed's head of the chamber stood close to a privy postern door, where they in the night came, and stifled her in her bed; bruised her head very much; broke her neck; and at length flung her down stairs; thereby believing the world would have thought it a mischance, and so have blinded their villainy." Nor was this plan of violence adopted till after they had vainly attempted to destroy her by poison, through the unconscious aid of Dr. Bailey, then professor of Physic in the University of Oxford, who had resisted their earnest importunity to make a medicine for her, when he knew she was in perfect health, suspecting, from his observation of circumstances, as he afterwards declared, that they intended to add to it some deadly drug, and trembling for his own safety. The disfigured corpse was hurried to the earth without a coroner's inquest, and to such a height did the pity and the resentment of the neighbouring families arise, that they employed the pen of Thomas Lever, a prebendary of Coventry, to write to the Secretaries of State, intreating that a strict enquiry should be made into the true cause of the lady's death, but the application had no

ROBERT DUDLEY,

effect. The strongest inference however of Leicester's guilt in this case is to be drawn from a string of reasons, noted down by Cecil himself, why the Queen should not make him her husband, one of which is—"that he is infamed by the death of his wife"—The effect of such a remark, made by such a person, and for such a purpose, wants little of the force of positive evidence.

The relaxations of such a man as Leicester are commonly sought in the gratification of mere appetite, and such were his. After a variety of amorous intrigues, not worthy of recollection, he became more than usually attached to Douglas, daughter of William Howard, first Lord Effingham, and widow of John, Lord Sheffield. Vulgar report, presuming on the known enormities of his life, proclaimed that he had disposed of her husband by those infernal secret means so frequently ascribed to him in other cases. Be this as it might, it is certain that he married her, or deceived her into a pretended marriage, immediately after the death of Lord Sheffield. By this Lady he had a son, with whose future story, remarkable as it was rendered by the dispositions unhappily and infamously made by the father, this memoir has no concern, and a daughter. He stipulated with the unfortunate Douglas that their marriage should be kept profoundly secret; the children were debarred from any intercourse with their mother; and the Earl, having some years after determined to marry another, compelled her by threats, by promises, and at length, by attempts on her life, to make a most effectual, though tacit, renunciation of all marital claims on him, by publicly taking to her husband Sir Edward Stafford. These nefarious circumstances were disclosed, shortly before the death of Elizabeth, in the prosecution of a suit in the Star Chamber instituted to establish the legitimacy, and consequent right of inheritance of her son; and on this occasion Douglas, after having proved by the testimony of many respectable witnesses her marriage to the deceased Earl, declared on oath the foul proceedings by which she had been forced to throw herself into the arms, and on the

EARL OF LEICESTER.

protection, of Stafford ; concluding with a relation of the means which Leicester had previously used to take her off by poison, under the operation of which she swore that her hair and her nails had fallen off ; that her constitution had been ruined ; and that she had narrowly escaped with life.

The object for whom he abandoned this miserable lady was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and relict of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. The already strong suspicion that Leicester had caused by the same diabolical means the death of that nobleman, to which some slight allusion has already been made, was aggravated to the utmost by the indecent haste with which he wedded the widow, with whom there was no doubt that he had for some time before maintained a guilty intercourse. This was the marriage which so highly excited the displeasure of Elizabeth, and which she unremittingly resented towards the Countess by an insulting neglect, in spite of all the instances of the young Essex, her son, who succeeded his uncle in the Queen's extravagant favour. Leicester had by this lady, one son, Robert ; who died in childhood four years before his father. She survived the Earl for nearly half a century ; and persecuted with tedious and ruinous suits his son by Lady Sheffield, whose legitimacy Leicester, with a folly equal to his injustice, had sometimes affirmed and sometimes denied, and to whom he had bequeathed his princely castle and domain of Kenilworth, of which the unfortunate gentleman was at last in a manner defrauded by the Crown in the succeeding reign.

Such, on the whole, was Elizabeth's most distinguished favourite. History, to its lamentable discredit, invariably asserts, in the same breath, his wickedness and the wisdom of his royal patroness—one or the other of those assertions must be false.



W. P. R. all

AMBROSIO DUDLEY EARL OF WARWICK

OB 1590

AMBROSE DUDLEY,

EARL OF WARWICK.

EMINENCE of consanguinity, rather than any special merit or fame of his own, beyond the quiet and unassuming recommendation of an unblemished moral character, has preserved the memory of this nobleman from a neglect perhaps approaching to oblivion. A son, and at length heir, of the mighty Duke of Northumberland; a brother of that paragon of royal favour and of wickedness, Leicester, and of the innocent and ill fated consort of Jane Grey; claimed, as it were, in their right some degree of distinction, and history has probably preserved all that could have been collected of his story. He was the fourth, but at length eldest surviving son of his father, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford, and was born in the year 1530, or 1531.

He is said to have manifested at an early age a passion for military fame. It is certain that he was in the expedition commanded by his father in 1549 against the Norfolk rebels, and not improbable that he owed the honour of knighthood, which he received on the seventeenth of November in that year, to some instances of that wild gallantry which in those days was esteemed the prime qualification for a soldier. He returned to the insipid life of a courtier, and we hear of him only as a partaker in tournaments and banquets till the arrest of the Duke, his father, with whom of course he had engaged in the support of Jane Grey's weak and unwilling pretensions to the Crown in July 1553. He was attainted, and received sentence of death, together with his brothers, John, Robert, and Henry, and they were confined in the Tower of London till the eighteenth of October in the succeeding year, when Mary granted him a pardon for life, permitted him to

AMBROSE DUDLEY,

come to Court, and received him into some degree of favour. Philip, her consort, for reasons not clearly assigned, became the patron of the crest-fallen remains of the House of Dudley. Ambrose volunteered into the Spanish army, in the Low Countries, and distinguished himself in the summer of 1557 at the celebrated battle of St. Quintin, and his younger brother, Henry, who accompanied him in the same character, fell during the siege of that place. Mary, at the King's intercession, now dispelled the cloud in which the extravagant ambition of Northumberland had involved his progeny, and in the conclusion of that year, this young nobleman, together with his surviving brother Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester, were fully restored by an Act of Parliament.

The stupendous influence of that brother, which marked even the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, presently secured a large share of her favour to Ambrose. He obtained a royal grant of estates in Leicestershire in her first year, and in the next she appointed him Master of the Ordnance for life. These boons were presently followed by the restoration of some of his father's dignities; on the twenty-fifth of December, 1561, he was created Baron of Kingston Lisle in the county of Berks, and on the following day Earl of Warwick. It was just at this period that the great contest began in France between the Papists and the Huguenots which afterwards obtained the denomination of the war of the League. The reformers solicited the aid of Elizabeth, and offered to place in her hands one of the most considerable ports of Normandy, which they besought her to garrison with English troops. She consented, not only readily but eagerly, and Havre de Grace, generally called Newhaven by the historical writers of that time, was given up to her; Warwick was nominated to the command, with the title of 'the Queen's Lieutenant in the province; and, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1562, landed at Havre, with three thousand soldiers, and was with much ceremony sworn into his office.

EARL OF WARWICK.

In this command, the only arduous public service in which we find him, his conduct, equally distinguished by fidelity, prudence, and courage, amply proved his ability for the most important military undertakings. The effects of his vigilance and activity were felt in every part of Normandy, from whence, by the aid of repeated excursions from his strong-hold, he had enabled the Protestants almost wholly to expel their enemies, when he found himself suddenly abandoned by them, and discovered that they had treacherously agreed on certain terms with the Leaguers, and even engaged themselves to turn their arms against him. He now shut himself up in his garrison, having previously dismissed the French of both persuasions, and was presently invested by a powerful army, under the command of the Constable de Montmorency. Terrible hardships and calamities ensued. The spring and summer passed almost without rain; the French cut the aqueducts which supplied the town; and the soldiers were obliged to boil their miserable sustenance in sea-water, which was frequently too their only beverage. An epidemic distemper, which carried off great numbers, succeeded. At length Warwick, after having sustained with uncommon perseverance a siege not less obstinate than his defence, surrendered in the autumn of 1563, but not till he had received the Queen's especial command, and effected a most honourable capitulation. During the treaty, having appeared without his armour on the ramparts to speak to a distinguished French officer, a villain fired at him from beneath, and wounded him in the leg with a poisoned bullet, a misfortune the consequences of which during the remainder of his life probably rendered retirement almost necessary to him, and prevented his accepting favours and distinctions which he seems so well to have merited. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1562, and invested at Havre with the ensigns of the Order.

In 1568, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the enquiry into the great matter of the Queen of Scots, on her arrival in England; in 1569, on the occasion of the rebellion of the Earls

AMBROSE DUDLEY,

of Northumberland and Westmoreland, himself and the Lord Clinton were appointed, jointly and severally, the Queen's Lieutenants in the north, and the suppression of it was chiefly owing to his care and vigilance, and in the succeeding year Elizabeth conferred on him the dignified office, or rather title, of Chief Butler of England. In 1570 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and included in the number of Peers appointed by the royal commission for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk; and this, with the exception of his having been similarly employed on the trial, as it was called, of the Queen of Scots, is the last notice to be found of his interference in any matter of the State. After the conclusion of the sitting, Mary addressed herself to him as to one for whom she felt a regard, and in whom she placed some confidence. Of Elizabeth's esteem for him, or of her inclination at least to persuade him how highly she esteemed him, a fair judgment may be formed from the following postscript, in her own hand writing, to a letter from her Privy Council, written to him during the siege of Havre.

“ My dear Warwick,

If your honour and my desire could accord with the loss of the needfullest finger I keep, God so help me in my utmost need as I would gladly lose that one joint for your safe abode with me, but since I cannot that I would, I will do that I may; and will rather drink in an ashen cup than you or your's should not be succoured both by sea and land, yea, and that with all speed possible; and let this my scribbling hand witness it unto them all.

Yours, as my own,

E. R.”

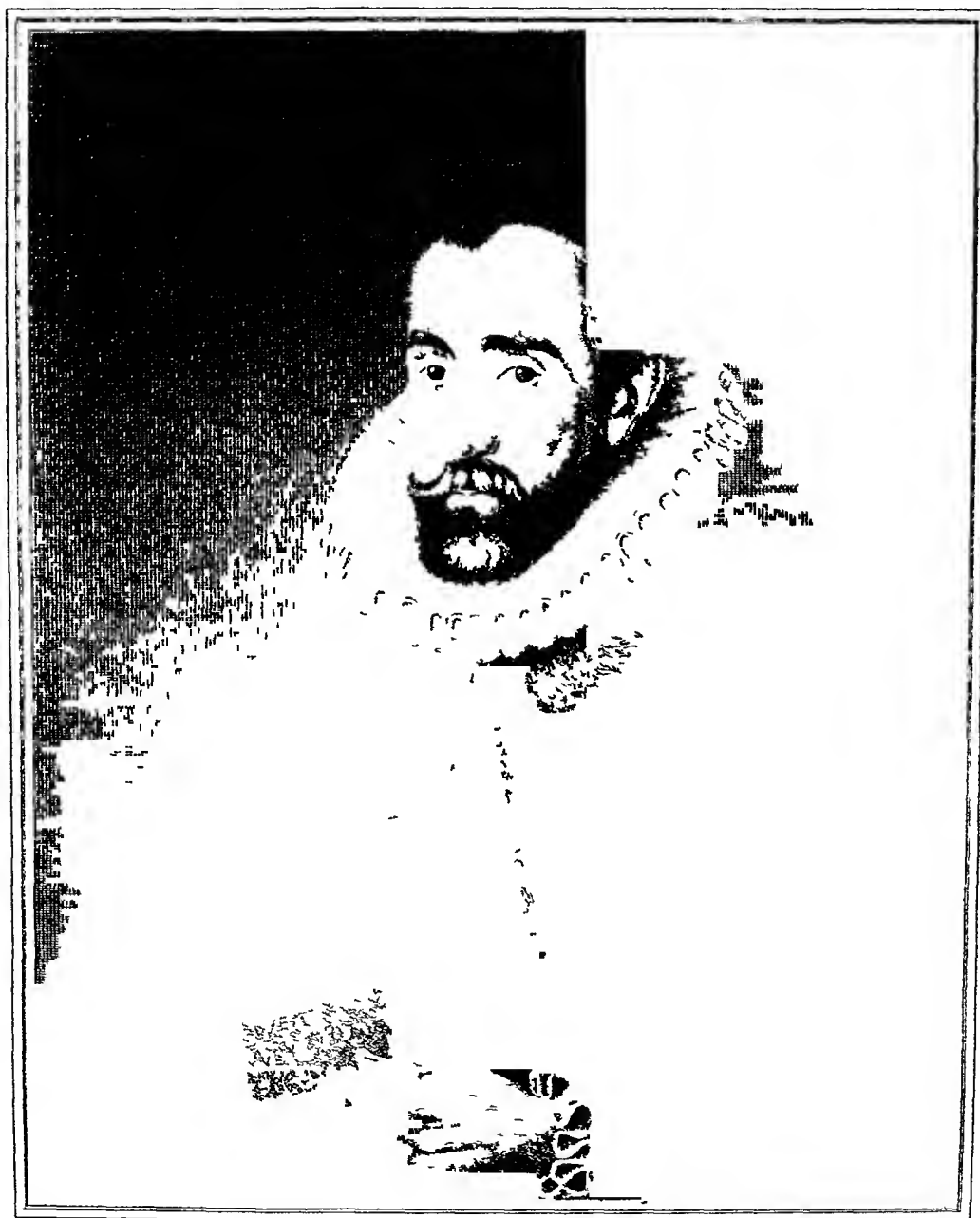
Warwick is said to have understood and patronized the commercial and manufacturing interests of his country. Certain it is that he was much engaged in a design projected by some

EARL OF WARWICK.

London merchants for opening the trade to Barbary, which at length proved unsuccessful; and that in 1585 he obtained from the Queen an exclusive licence for two years for the exporting woollen cloths thither by some of them who had suffered the heaviest losses; but no farther inference can be drawn from those circumstances than that he himself was a party in their speculations, a condescension by no means rare among the nobility towards the conclusion of the reign of Elizabeth. Of the fact that he was a person of most unblemished conduct both in public and private life there can be no possible doubt. His character stands wholly unimpeached: even in that volume of virulent censure on the rest of his family, known by the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," his name is never mentioned disrespectfully: In the few notices of him with which history furnishes us it is always accompanied by praise, and his popular appellation was "the good Earl of Warwick." Towards the conclusion of his life the misery of the incurable wound which he had received at Havre gradually increased, and at length became intolerable, and threatened mortification. In an unsigned letter to George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, of the fourth of February, 1589-90, the writer says—"My Lo of Warwick is like to go. His offices are alreedy nere bestowed Grafton" (doubtless the royal honour of Grafton, which we are not elsewhere informed was held by him) "upon the Lo Chancellor, Butlerage, upon the Lo of Buckehurst; for the M^r.ship of the Ordynaunce my Lorde Graye and Sir John Parratt stryve." Mr. Thomas Markham, in a detail of court news to the same nobleman, of the seventeenth of that month, writes—"on Wednesdaye was sennight, as I am suer your L. hath hard, my Lord of Warwyk had his leg cutt off, since which tyme he hath amendid, but not so faste as I wolld wyshe." On the twentieth he expired at the house of his brother in law, the Earl of Bedford, in Bloomsbury, and was buried at Warwick, where a curious altar tomb was erected to his memory by his widow.

AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK.

This nobleman was thrice married; first, to Anne, daughter and heir of William Whorwood, Attorney General in the reign of Henry the eighth, by whom he had his only child, John, who died an infant before 1552. His second Lady was Elizabeth daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, and sister and sole heir to George, last Lord Talboys. He married, thirdly, Anne, daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford



Engraved by J. Cochran

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM

OB 1590

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE LATE DUK OF DORSET

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

THE life of Walsingham, reputed one of the first statesmen of his time, affords but scanty materials to the biographer. Continually devoted, from an early age, to public affairs, the character of the man was almost absorbed in that of the minister; while, on the other hand, the mysterious secrecy with which he moved, invisibly, as it were, in his service of the State, conceals from us most of the particulars of that great agency which we know he exercised. It may be fairly said of him, without either compliment or insult to his memory, that he was an illustrious spy; but it must be added, that he is said to have been in private life an honest and kind-hearted man. He certainly was a wise and faithful public servant.

He descended from a very ancient and respectable family in Norfolk, said to have derived its surname from the town of Walsingham; a junior branch of which migrated into Kent about the time of Henry the sixth, and was the third and youngest son of William Walsingham, of Scadbury, in the parish of Chiselhurst, by Joyce, daughter of Edmund Denny, of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire. He was bred in his father's house, under a private tutor, and afterwards studied for a time in King's College, in Cambridge, from whence he went, very young, to seek a more enlarged education on the continent. The persecution raised by Mary induced him to remain abroad till her death, for his family were zealous protestants, and he was earnestly attached to that persuasion. He had thus abundant leisure for the employment of a most acute mind, naturally, if it may be so said, directed to the observation of the characters of nations and of individuals, of courts and of councils, of manners, customs, and political systems. He returned

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

therefore, soon after the accession of Elizabeth, a self-made statesman, with the additional advantage of a perfect knowledge of most of the European languages, for he had always the reputation of being the first linguist of his time. Thus qualified, he fell in the way of Secretary Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, who, presently discerning the true character of his talents, retained him with eagerness, and made him, almost immediately, a principal agent in such affairs, as peculiarly required activity and secrecy. Thus the management of Elizabeth's concerns at the Court of France was implicitly committed to his charge, at a time when they required the most refined diplomatic skill ; while a dreadful civil war was raging in that country, and its Cabinet distinguished by a policy equally acute and perfidious.

Having remained there many years, he returned, for a short time, to aid the deliberations of Elizabeth's ministers on the great question of the French marriage, to which he seems to have been then really inclined ; and in August, 1570, was sent again to Paris, professedly to negotiate on that subject, but, in fact, rather to agitate others of the highest importance. A very fine collection of his dispatches during that mission fell into the hands of Sir Dudley Digges, and were published in 1655, under the title of "The Compleat Ambassador." Those letters exhibit the perhaps unparalleled combination in one and the same mind of the most enlarged understanding, and the minutest cunning. Such were his wisdom and his address, that he contrived, while he treated of a proposal which might seem to have no chance of success but in mutual good faith, and perfect amity, to embarrass Charles the ninth to the utmost by fomenting the insurrection of the Huguenots ; to thwart the great designs of the House of Austria, by laying the foundation of the war in the Low Countries ; and, after having passed three years in the prosecution of these opposite plans, to leave an honourable character behind him in a Court whose favourite interests he had constantly and successfully endeavoured to injure. He returned in April, 1573, and

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

was received by Elizabeth with the highest grace and approbation.

Very shortly after his arrival he was nominated one of the principal Secretaries of State. Gilbert Lord Talbot writes to his father, George, Earl of Shrewsbury, on the eleventh of May, 1573, "Mr. Walsingham is this day come hither to the Courte: It is thought he shall be made Secretary: Sir Thomas Smythe and he, both together, shall exercise that office." They were accordingly appointed; but the superintendence of all matters of extraordinary delicacy and secrecy in their department was committed to Walsingham alone, and he seems to have referred them all to one principle of management. Espionage, to use a word which is now almost English, and for which our language affords no synonyme, had been reduced by him to a system of precise regularity. Lloyd, making a nice distinction, states the number of persons employed by him in foreign Courts to have been fifty-three agents, and eighteen spies. "He had the wonderful art," says the author of the *Life of Lord Bolingbroke*, almost copying after the same Lloyd, without acknowledging the obligation, "of weaving plots, in which busy people were so intangled that they could never escape; but were sometimes spared upon submission, sometimes hanged for examples." Lloyd, again, tells us that he would "cherish a plot for some years together; admitting the conspirators to his, and the Queen's, presence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully;" and that "his spies waited on some men every hour for three years."

In 1578 he was sent for a short time, accompanied by Lord Cobham, to the Netherlands, to treat, with little sincerity, of a peace between the new republic and the King of Spain; and in 1581 was again appointed Ambassador to the Court of France. The Duke of Anjou, since the accession of his brother, Henry the third, had renewed with earnestness his solicitations for the hand of Elizabeth, who, on her part, from a policy which has never been clearly understood, or from a caprice yet more unaccount-

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

able, had met his advances with a warmth and freedom ill suited to the dignity of an independent Queen, or to the prudence of a woman at the age of forty-five. The Duke had been thus tempted to visit her Court, in the declared character of a lover; had been received by her with unbecoming tokens of affection; and soon after repelled with coldness and disdain. The professed objects of Walsingham's mission was to negotiate, previously to the proposed marriage, an offensive and defensive league, but the real view was either to reconcile those contrarieties, or to involve them in deeper mystery. He was dispatched in 1583 on an embassy, equally faithless, to the young King of Scotland, afterwards our James the first. Sir James Melvil, a plain honest man, who was naturally prejudiced in Walsingham's favour, as well because they had been acquainted, and had travelled together, in their youth, as that one part of the Secretary's instructions was to detach the King from a party which Melvil disliked, gives a large and remarkable account in his memoirs of this minister's intercourse with James. "His Majesty," says Melvil, "appointed four of the Council, and himself, to reason with Sir Francis, and to sound what he would be at; but he refused to deal with any but with his Majesty, who heard him again." He flattered James's vanity with the highest praise of his wisdom and erudition, and fully persuaded Melvil that he had visited Scotland with the purest intention of serving that Prince. "The King marvelled," concludes Sir James, "that the Chief Secretary of England, burthened with so many great affairs, sickly, and aged, should have enterprized so painful a voyage without any purpose; for it could not be perceived what was his errand, save only that he gave his Majesty good counsel." It is not surprising that even Walsingham should have failed to accomplish the object of this embassy, inasmuch as he had to contend, not with politics, but with passions. His secret instructions doubtless had been to detach James from his favourite, the Earl of Arran; and to place him again in the hands of the very noblemen who had just before

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

held him in a degrading captivity, and even threatened his life, in that mysterious outrage distinguished in Scottish history by the name of "The Raid of Ruthven," Elizabeth's participation in which was more than suspected.

He returned from thus attempting to cajole the son, to take a frightful share in the odious measures of Elizabeth against the mother. Patriotism and loyalty, however enthusiastic, could furnish no apology for the fraud and treachery with which he surrounded the unhappy Mary in her prison. The exquisite refinement, and endless variety, of his designs to entrap her savoured more of a natural taste for deception than of zeal for the public service. He seems indeed in many instances to have purposely delayed the fruition of his artifices for the mere delight of changing or repeating them. In the remarkable case of what is usually called "Babington's conspiracy," Ballard, a priest, who was the original mover of the design, was continually attended, from the very dawn of it, by Maude, one of Walsingham's spies. Maude first affected to aid him in England; then passed over with him into France, to tamper with the Spanish Ambassador, and others, and returned with him; assisted largely in debauching Babington, and several other young men of good families, and in constructing the whole machinery of the plot, in constant intelligence always with his master. In the mean time, another, named Giffard, insinuated himself into the society of some who were in the confidence of the Queen of Scots, and undertook to manage a correspondence between her and the conspirators, in which every letter written by her, as well as their answers, were delivered first to Walsingham, by whom they were opened, deciphered, copied, re-sealed, and forged additions occasionally made to them, and then dispatched to their several destinations. Walsingham at length condescended to become intimate with Babington, purposely to prostitute his own personal agency in this base tragedy; and, having occupied himself for six months in drawing his net every hour nearer and nearer to the unsuspecting

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

victims, was at last compelled to close it over them by positive orders from Elizabeth, dictated by her fears. "Thus far," says Camden, who gives a most interesting and circumstantial detail of the whole, "had Walsingham spun the thread alone, without acquainting the rest of the Queen's Council; and longer would he have drawn it, but the Queen would not suffer it, lest, as she said herself, by not heeding and preventing the danger while she might, she might seem rather to tempt God than to trust in God."

But a charge of a blacker nature rests heavily on the memory of Walsingham. In a long letter in the Harleian Collection, addressed by him, and his Co-Secretary, Davison, within the period of which I have just now spoken, to Sir Amias Powlett, and Sir Drue Drury, by whom Mary was then held in close custody, are these terrific passages—"We find, by speech lately uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time, of yourselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the * * * * * that Queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to so long as the said Queen shall live, wherein, besides a kind of lack of love to her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of the association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed; especially the matter where-with she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly that men professing that love towards her that you do, should, in a kind of sort for lack of the discharge of your duty, cast the burthen upon her, knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood,

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is. These respects we find do greatly trouble her Majesty, who we assure you hath sundry times protested that, if the regard of the danger of her good subjects, and faithful servants, did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood, &c."

Great pains have been taken to discredit the authenticity of this letter, but it is difficult to conceive with what view such a document could have been forged; for the character of Elizabeth, who so soon after publicly stained herself with the blood of that miserable Princess, could scarcely have suffered further deterioration by such a charge. Besides, were it proper to argue the point in this place, evidence nearly positive might be produced that Elizabeth had at other times given private orders that she should be put to death, in the event of the occurrence of certain circumstances; but we have here no business with the letter, except as an additional proof of Walsingham's habitual abandonment of every principle of justice, humanity, and honour, to the will of a sanguinary tyrant. Mary, on her trial, challenged him as her bitterest and most treacherous enemy. Camden informs us that she said, alluding to the charges against her with regard to Babington's plot, "that it was an easy thing to counterfeit the cyphers and characters of others, as a young man did very lately in France, who gave himself out to be her son's base brother; and that she was afraid this was done by Walsingham, to bring her to her end, who, as she had heard, had practised both against her life, and her son's."

The detail of Walsingham's secret machinations would fill a volume. Perhaps the most remarkable was that by which he managed for a considerable time to prevent the fitting out of that famous expedition called the Spanish Armada. He had obtained intelligence from Madrid that Philip had informed his ministers that he had written to Rome, to disclose to the Pope, the secret

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

object of his great preparations by sea and land, and to beg his Holiness's blessing on the enterprise ; and that he should conceal his views from them till the return of the courier. Walsingham, so far informed, employed a Venetian priest, one of his resident spies at Rome, to gain a copy of the King of Spain's letter. The priest corrupted a gentleman of the Pope's bedchamber, who took the key of his Holiness's cabinet out of his pocket while he slept ; transcribed the letter ; and returned the key. Hence Walsingham discovered that Philip had negotiated to raise the money to equip his fleet by bills on Genoa, and he contrived, through the aid of Sutton, the famous founder of the Charter-House, as it is said, and other eminent English merchants at Genoa, that nearly all those bills should be protested, and by that artifice impeded the sailing of the fleet for more than twelve months.

Walsingham, like several others of Elizabeth's most faithful servants, received few solid marks of her favour. He never held any public office, in addition to his laborious and unprofitable Secretaryship, except that of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which was not conferred on him till about 1587, late in his life, and he afterwards obtained the Order of the Garter. He lived and died miserably poor ; for, such was his zeal, and such his mistress's baseness, that he lavished great sums from his own purse on the public service, and was never repaid. Camden says that "he watched the practices of the papists with so great an expense that he lessened his estate by that means, and brought himself so far in debt that he was buried privately, by night, in St. Paul's Church, without any manner of funeral ceremony." This is truly stated, for in his will I find this passage—"I desire that my body may be buried without any such extraordinary ceremonies as usually appertain to a man serving in my place, in respect of the greatness of my debts, and the mean state I shall leave my wife, and heir, in ; charging both my executor and overseers, to see this duly accomplished, according to the special trust and confidence I repose in them." He bequeaths to that

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

heir, his only surviving child, no more than an annuity of one hundred pounds, and orders his "lands in Lincolnshire" to be sold for the payment of his debts. He died on the sixth of April, 1590, of a local complaint, not understood by the surgeons of that day; or rather, as Camden with much probability tells us, by the violence of the medicines which were administered to him; having been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of Sir George Barnes, an Alderman of London, who died childless; secondly to Ursula, daughter of Henry St Barbe, of Somersetshire, and widow of Richard Worsley, who brought him two daughters, Frances, and Mary, the latter of whom died unmarried in June, 1580. Frances was thrice splendidly wedded: first, to the memorable Sir Philip Sidney, secondly, to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; and thirdly, to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Clanricarde, by each of whom she left issue.

Sir Francis Walsingham founded a Divinity Lecture at Oxford, and acknowledged his affection to King's College, in Cambridge, by bestowing on it a library. A book which appeared not long after his death, and which has frequently been reprinted, intituled "*Arcana Aulica, or Walsingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims*," has usually been reputed the work of his pen; but was more probably a compilation by some confidential person about him.

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

WE know but enough of this gentleman's history to make us wish for more. His elevation to the first place in the cabinet, and to the supreme seat in the administration of justice, coupled with the fantastic singularity of the incongruous and unconnected steps by which he ascended, throw about his legend an air of romance, while our utter ignorance of the motives which induced Elizabeth thus greatly and strangely to distinguish him, involve it in suitable mystery. It is scarcely less extraordinary that these circumstances should not have excited the curiosity of the historians and pamphleteers of the succeeding century, or, if they did enquire into them, that they should have withheld from us the fruit of their researches, recording only the silly and incredible tale that he danced himself into his preferments. This remarkable silence on a point of history so likely to provoke discussion induces a suspicion that it arose from fear, or prudence, or delicacy. Hatton was one of the handsomest and most accomplished men of his time, and the conduct of Elizabeth had already betrayed, in more than one instance, the extravagances into which personal predilections, of a nature not easy to be defined, were capable of leading her. These are facts of such notoriety that the supposition of an additional instance of similar weakness will not be deemed a libel on the memory of the virgin Queen. That Hatton was an object of this anomalous partiality seems highly probable, and, had his character been marked by the ambition of Leicester, or the rashness of Essex, the ground of his good fortune would perhaps have been not less evident than their's.

He descended from a junior line of the very ancient house of

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Hatton of Hatton, in Cheshire which migrated into Northamptonshire, and was the third and youngest son of William Hatton, of Holdenby, by Alice, daughter of Laurence Saunders, of Horingworth, both in that county. He was born in 1539, or in the succeeding year, and, after having been carefully instructed in his father's house, was entered a gentleman commoner of St. Mary Hall, in Oxford, where he probably remained not long, as he quitted the university without having taken a degree, and enrolled himself in the society of the Inner Temple. It has been said that he was placed there not to study the law with a view of qualifying himself for the profession, but to give him the advantages of a familiar intercourse with men who joined to deep learning an extensive knowledge of the world, and of the arts of social prudence. This report was probably invented for the sake of increasing the wonder excited by his final promotion, though thus much is certain, that we hear nothing of his practice in any of the courts, nor indeed have we any direct intelligence that he was ever called to the bar. It is amply recorded however that he joined at least in the sports of his fellow students, for it was at one of those romantic entertainments which at that time the Inns of Court frequently presented to royalty that he first attracted the notice of the queen. "Sir Christopher Hatton," as Naunton somewhat obscurely says, "came into the court as Sir John Perrott's opposite; as Perrott was used to say, 'by the galliard,' for he came thither as a private gentleman of the Inns of Court, in a masque, and, for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her favour." Honest Camden, with more plainness, tells us that, "being young, and of a comely tallness of body, and amiable countenance, he got into such favour with the queen," &c.

He was presently admitted into her band of gentlemen pensioners, at that time composed of fifty young men of the best families in the kingdom, and was soon after placed among the gentlemen of her privy chamber; then appointed captain of her

body guard, and vice-chamberlain of her household, about the time of his promotion to which latter office he was knighted, and sworn of the privy council. In 1586 Elizabeth granted to him and his heirs the island of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, and in the same year named him as one of her commissioners for the trial, or rather for the conviction, of the Queen of Scots. It is said that Mary was persuaded chiefly by his reasoning to submit to their jurisdiction, and Camden has preserved the speech which for that purpose he addressed to her, and which exhibits little either of eloquence or argument. “ You are accused,” he said, “ but not condemned, to have conspired the destruction of our lady and Queen anointed. You say you are a queen : be it so, however in such a crime as this the royal dignity itself is not exempted from answering, either by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nations nor of nature ; for if such kind of offences might be committed without punishment, all justice would stagger, yea fall to the ground. If you be innocent you wrong your reputation in avoiding trial. You protest yourself to be innocent, but Queen Elizabeth thinketh otherwise, and that not without ground, and is heartily sorry for the same. To examine therefore your innocency she hath appointed commissioners, honourable persons, prudent and upright men, who are ready to hear you according to equity, with favour, and will rejoice with all their hearts if you shall clear yourself of what you are charged with. Believe me, the Queen herself will be transported with joy, who affirmed to me, at my coming from her, that never any thing befel her that troubled her more than that you should be charged with such misdemeanours. Wherefore lay aside the bootless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which now can be of no use unto you ; appear to your trial, and shew your innocency ; lest by avoiding trial you draw upon yourself a suspicion, and stain your reputation with an eternal blot and aspersion.”

On the twenty-third of April, 1587, to the astonishment of the country, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor, unluckily

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

succeeding in that great office Bromley, a lawyer of the highest fame; and on the twenty-third of May, in the succeeding year, as though to crown properly the heterogeneous graces which had been already bestowed on him, was installed a Knight of the Garter. Camden, the only writer who has affected to account for his appointment to the Great Seal, informs us, rather improbably, that "he was advanced to it by the Court-arts of some, that by his absence from Court, and the troublesome discharge of so great a place, which they thought him not to be able to undergo, his favour with the Queen might flag, and grow less." He was received, naturally enough, in the Chancery Court with cold and silent disdain, and it is even said that the barristers for a time declined to plead before him, but the sweetness of his temper, and the general urbanity of his manners, soon overcame those difficulties, while the earnestness and honesty with which he evidently applied the whole force of a powerful mind to qualify himself for his high office gradually attracted to him the esteem of the public: "He executed," says the historian just now quoted, "the place with the greatest state and splendor of any that we ever saw, and what he wanted in knowledge of the law he laboured to make good by equity and justice." He is said to have introduced several good rules into the practice of his court, and to have at length acquired, by the wisdom of his decrees, and by the moderation, impartiality, and independence, of his conduct, on the bench, an eminent share of popularity. Anthony Wood asserts that he composed several pieces on legal subjects, none of which however are extant, except one, which has been plausibly attributed to him, entitled "a Treatise concerning Statutes, or Acts of Parliament, and the Exposition thereof," which was not printed till 1677.

Sir Robert Naunton, again with some obscurity, thus concludes the very short notices which he has left us of Hatton. "He was a gentleman that, besides the graces of his person and dancing, had also the adjectaments of a strong and subtle

capacity: one that could soon learn the discipline and garb both of the times and court. The truth is he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy, and he was a mere vegetable of the court, that sprung up at night, and sunk again at his noon." Does Naunton mean that Hatton was envious, or that he was the object of envy in others?

With relation to one of the character of whose mind, and of the extent of whose talents and accomplishments, so little has been handed down to us, it is fortunate to be able to form some opinion from the familiar effusions of his own pen. In the great treasure of epistolary remains of the eminent men of his time Hatton's letters are of rarest occurrence. No apology then will be necessary for illustrating this unavoidably imperfect sketch with two of them; the one, without date, to Elizabeth, from a rough draft in the Harleian MSS., and hitherto unpublished; the other, now reprinted from the Cecil Papers, to the gallant and unfortunate Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. The first is indorsed—"S^r. Ch^r. Hatton, Vicechamberlaine, to the Queene, upon some words of the Queene, his protestacion of his owne innocence."

"If the woundes of the thought wear not most dangerous of all wthout speedy dressing I shold not now troble yo^r. Ma^{ty}. wth. the lynnes of my co'playnt; and if whatsoever came from you wear not ether very gracious or greevous to me what you sayd wold not synke so deeply in my bosome. My profession hath been, is, and ever shalbe, to your Ma^{ty}. all duty wthin order, all reverent love wthout mesure, & all trothe wthout blame; insomuch as when I shall not be fownde soche as to yo^r. Highnes Cæsar sought to have hys wife to himselfe, not onely wthout synne, but also not to be suspected, I wish my spright devyded from my body as his spowse was from his bedde; and therefore, upon yesternight's wordes, I am driven to say to yo^r. Ma^{ty}. ether to satisfye wronge conceyts, or to answer false reports, that if the speech you used

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

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SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

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"If the woundes of the thought wear not most dangerous of all wthout speedy dressing I shold not now troble yo^r. Ma^{ty}. wth. the lynnes of my co'playnt; and if whatsoever came from you wear not ether very gracious or greevous to me what you sayd wold not synke so deeply in my bosome. My profession hath been, is, and ever shalbe, to your Ma^{ty}. all duty wthin order, all reverent love wthout mesure, & all trothe wthout blame; insomuch as when I shall not be fownde soche as to yo^r. Highnes Cæsar sought to have hys wife to himselfe, not onely wthout synne, but also not to be suspected, I wish my spright devyded from my body as his spowse was from his bedde; and therfore, upon yesternight's wordes, I am driven to say to yo^r. Ma^{ty}. ether to satisfye wronge conceyts, or to answer false reports, that if the speech you used

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

of yo^r. Turke did ever passe my penne or lippes to any créature owt of yo^r. Highnes' hearing, but to my L. of Burghley, wth. whom I have talked bothe of the man & the matter, I desyre no lesse condemnation then as a traytor, & no more pardon then hys ponyshment; and, further, if ever I ether spake or sent to the embassad. of France, Spayne, or Scotland, or have accompanied, to my knowledge, any that conferres wth. them, I doe renounce all good from yo^r. Ma^{ty}. in erthe, & all grace from God in heaven; w^{ch}. assurans if yo^r. H. thinke not suffieyent, upon the knees of my haite I hu'bly erave at yo^r. Ma^{ty}'s. handes, not so much for my satisfaction as yo^r. own suerty, make the perfitest triall hearof; for if upon soch occasions it shall please yo^r. Ma^{ty}. to syfte the chaffe from the wheate, the corne of yo^r. co'monwealth wolde be more pure, & myxt graines wold lesse infect the synnowes of yo^r. suerty, w^{ch}. God most strengthen, to yo^r. Ma^{ty}'s. best & longest preservation."

His letter to Essex, then commanding the English troops at the siege of Rouen, in which his brother, Walter, had lately fallen, forms a striking contrast to the bombastic piece which, in conformity to her own taste, he addressed to the Queen, and may perhaps be justly considered as an example of the best epistolary composition of the time.

" My very good Lord,

" Next after my thanks for yo^r. honorable l^{res}., I will assure yo^r. Lo^p. that, for my part, I have not failed to use the best endeavors I cold for the effecting of yo^r. desire in remaininge ther for some longer tyme, but wthall I must advertise you that her Ma^{ty}. hath been drawen therunto wth. exceeding hardenes, & the chefe reason that maketh her sticke in it is for that she doubteth yo^r. Lo^p. doth not sufficiently consider the dishonor that ariseth unto her by the King's ether dalliance or want of regard, having not used the forces sent so freindly to his aid from so great a Prince, and under the conduct of so great a personage, in some employement of more importance all this while: wherefore, by her

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Ma^{ty}. co'mandement, and also for the unfained good wyll I bear yo^r. L^p., I am very earnestly to advise you that you have gret care for the accomplishment of her Highnes' instrucc'ons effectually, and according to her intenc'ons, in those thinges wherin you are to deale wth. the Kinge."

"Further, my good Lord, lett me be bolde to warne you of a matter that many of yo^r. frendes here gretely feare, namely, that the late accident of yo^r. noble brother, who hathe so valiantly & honorably spent his lyfe in his Prince's & countrey's service, draw you not, through grieve or passion, to hasard yo^rselfe over venturously. Yo^r. Lo^p. best knoweth that true valour consisteth rather in constant performinge of that w^{ch}. hathe been advisedly forethought than in an aptnes or readines of thrusting yo^r. p^{er}son indifferently into every daunger. You have many waies, & many tymes, made sufficient proof of yo^r. valientnes: No man doubteth but that you have enough, if you have not overmuch: and therefore, both in regard of the services her Ma^{ty}. expecteth to receive from you, and in respect of the greife that would growe to the whole realme by the losse of one of that honorable birth, & that worthe w^{ch}. is sufficiently knowen (as greater hathe not beene for any that hathe beene borne therin these many & many yeeres) I must, even before Almighty God, praye & require yo^r. Lo^p. to have that cercumspectnes of yo^rselfe w^{ch}. is fitt for a generall of yo^r. sorte. Lastly, my Lo., I hope you doubt not of the good disposic'ons I beare towards yo^r. Lo^p., nor that out of the same ther ariseth & remaineth in me a desire to doe yo^r. Lo^p. all the service that shalbe in my pore abilitie to p^{er}forme, & therefore I shall not neede to spend many wordes in that behalf; but, wth. my earnest prayers for yo^r. good succes in all yo^r. honorable actions, &, after, for yo^r. safe returne, to the comfort of yo^r. frendes & wellwillers here, I leave yo^r. Lo^p. to God's most holy and m^{er}cifull protecc'on. From London, the 5th of October, 1591.

Yo^r. good L^p's most assured & true frende,

CH^R. HATTON."

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

The faithful historian, already so frequently quoted, records that “ he was a man of a pious nature, and of opinion that in matters of religion neither fire nor sword was to be used ; a great reliever of the poor ; and of singular bounty and munificence to students and learned men, for which reason those of Oxford chose him Chancellor of their University.” He succeeded the favourite Leicester in that dignified office in September, 1588. He is said in his earlier years to have sacrificed occasionally to the muse, of which however no proof is extant, except in the tragedy of *Tancred and Ghismunda*, which was the joint production of five students of the Inner Temple ; was acted by some members of that society before the Queen in 1568 ; and printed in 1592. To the fourth act is subscribed “ *Composuit Ch^r. Hatton.*”

His death, which happened on the twentieth of November, 1591, has been ascribed in great measure to the harshness and suddenness with which Elizabeth demanded the instant payment of a great sum in his hands, arising from the collection of first fruits and tenths. “ He had hopes,” says Camden, “ in regard of the favour he was in with her, she would have forgiven him ; but she could not, having once cast him down with a harsh word, raise him up again, though she visited him, and endeavoured to comfort him.” He was buried in St. Paul’s Cathedral, and, having died a bachelor, bequeathed his fortune to his nephew, Sir William Newport, of Harringham, in Warwickshire, with remainder to Christopher, son and heir of John Hatton, his nearest kinsman of the male line. Sir William Newport, who assumed the surname of Hatton, died childless, and Christopher succeeded accordingly ; his son and heir, of the same name, was created in 1643 Baron Hatton, of Kirby, in Northamptonshire ; and the heir male of that son in 1682 obtained the title of Viscount ; both which became extinct about sixty years since.



1671 10 10

CARDINAL ALLEN

OB. 1611

FROM THE ORIGIN IN THE COLLECTION OF

BROWN MOSTYN ESQ.

WILLIAM ALLEN,

CARDINAL

THE face and the character of this remarkable person have hitherto been almost equally unknown. While he lived, and for several years after his death, to have possessed his portrait might have been deemed misprision of treason, and to have spoken favourably even of the slightest act of his life would certainly have been considered as a high misdemeanour. He was perhaps the most formidable enemy to the reformed faith, and the ablest apologist for the Romish church, that England ever produced, for he was armed at all points, either for attack or defence, and indefatigable in the prosecution of each. He was generally learned, but in sacred and ecclesiastical history profoundly; and while he reasoned with equal acuteness, boldness, and eloquence, used that urbanity of expression, so uncommon in the polemics of his time, which polishes, while it sharpens, the weapons of argument, and disarms an adversary, at least of personal enmity. He exercised in fact, though without the name, the office of viceroy to the Pope for the affairs of his church in England, and in that character opposed, with a most honest zeal, the progress of a system which the most part of Europe then considered as a frightful schism, and which was at that time indebted for its support perhaps more to the vigilance and severity of Elizabeth's government than to the affection of its professors. But that system had already become firmly interwoven with the civil polity of England, and the most dangerous enemy to a state is he who would wound it through the shield of its religious establishment. Elizabeth, therefore, would have acted but with strict justice had she put Cardinal Allen to death, as she certainly

CARDINAL ALLEN.

would, could she have got him into her power ; and he would have been, as justly, canonized.

He descended from two respectable, and rather ancient, families, for he was the second son of John Allen, the elder line of whose house had been long seated at Brockhouse, in Staffordshire, by Jennet, daughter of a Lyster, of Westby, in Yorkshire. He was born at Rossall, in the latter county, about the year 1532, and became a student of Oriel College in 1547, where he was so distinguished for his talents, and for the rapidity and success of his studies, that he was within three years afterwards unanimously elected a fellow of that house, and before he had reached the age of twenty-five was chosen Principal of St. Mary's Hall, and one of the Proctors of the University. About 1558, he was appointed a Canon of York, but was scarcely fixed there when the death of Queen Mary blasted all his hopes of further preferment in his own country. He continued, however, in England till 1560, when he retired to Louvain, and fixed his residence for a time in the famous theological college there, which, since the accession of Elizabeth, had become the favourite place of refuge for those of the English Catholic divines who had the highest reputation for learning and zeal. But the passive devotions of a mere pious asylum were ill suited to the disposition of one who seemed to exist but for the service of his church : He returned, under the pretence of seeking relief in his native air from a lingering illness, and settled in Lancashire, where his endeavours to reclaim the wanderers from his profession became soon so notorious that the magistrates chased him from that county. He went then into Oxfordshire, where he not only followed the same course, but published treatises in the English language, which he had printed at Louvain,—“ In Defence of the lawful Power and Authority of the Priesthood to remit sins,” “ Of the Confession of Sins to God's Ministers,” and a third, intituled, “ The Church's Meaning concerning Indulgences, commonly called Pope's Pardons.” Such a visitor could not long

CARDINAL ALLEN.

be permitted to remain near the University. He removed, doubtless under compulsion, into the neighbourhood of Norwich, where he dwelt chiefly in the house of the Duke of Norfolk, and, having composed there a strenuous defence of his church, under the title of "Certain brief Reasons concerning Catholic Faith," returned once more to Oxford, and boldly took up his residence there. His attempts, though with unabated zeal, were now more secretly practised. He ceased to publish his opinions, and contented himself with endeavouring to gain individual proselytes by the acuteness of his arguments, and the charms of his conversation. An experiment of that kind, in which he had fully succeeded, drew down on him the vehement resentment of the relations of his convert, who happened to be zealous reformers. They prosecuted him with the utmost vengeance; he found means to escape from the consequences; and quitted England, never again to return.

He fled to Flanders, and, after having resided for some time in a monastery in the city of Mechlin, removed about 1568 to Douay, where an academy had been some years before established, which had acquired considerable reputation. On that foundation he raised the college which after many vicissitudes yet subsisted there in much fame at the commencement of the accursed French revolution, when its peaceful inmates were dispersed, and it became first a military hospital, and, since, a manufactory. To this seminary, which was declaredly devoted to the reception of learned English Romanists who had fled their country for religion's sake, he gave a regular collegiate form, and procured from the Pope a yearly stipend for its maintenance. He was now appointed a Canon of the archiepiscopal church of Cambrai, and, soon after, of that of Rheims, in France, where he prevailed on the great family of Guise to erect another college for the same purpose, to which he removed the members of his house at Douay, during the distraction which for a time agitated the Netherlands. He commenced also a similar foundation at Rome,

and two in Spain. All these were devoted to the education of English youth, and every sort of learning was cultivated in them to the utmost perfection of the time, but the grand and secret object of the teachers was to instruct their pupils in the religious and civil doctrines of the church of Rome, to inspire them with the most zealous and implicit veneration towards all its institutions, and so to qualify them to become, when they should return to their own country, the most effectual of all missionaries.

In spite of the personal application and activity which these objects necessarily required, it should seem that his pen too was almost incessantly employed, as well in a continual correspondence with his friends and abettors in England, as in the composition of multifarious publications which he disseminated throughout Europe with the utmost industry. Elizabeth, who held her brother sovereigns and their councils in contempt, was awed by the talents, the perseverance, and, perhaps most of all, by the sincerity of this man. He fought against her, or, in other words, against that system of faith of which she was then the life and soul, as well in the field as in the closet; for, while he opposed himself, with exquisite power of argument, to her most eminent divines, and used the sweetest persuasion to those whom he hoped to convert, the catholic soldiers and mariners of England, as well as those of Spain, went into battle with treatises in their hands which he had written for their use, and adapted to their capacities. Thus he prevailed on Sir William Stanley, and Rowland York, who commanded a body of thirteen hundred men in the low countries, to surrender to the Spaniards in 1587 the strong fortress of Deventer, and other places, with their garrisons, and, immediately after, printed a letter intituled, "*Epistola de Deventriæ ditione*," together with a translation into English, in which he highly commended their treachery, and incited others to imitate it. So too, in the following year, upon the sailing of the Spanish Armada, he published "*A Declaration of the sentence of Sixtus the Fifth*," by which that Pope had given plenary

indulgence, and pardon of all sins, to those who would assist in depriving Elizabeth of her kingdom; to which was added a supplement, most energetically conceived and written, with the title of "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England." Elizabeth herself bore testimony to the weight and importance of this book by dispatching a minister to the Prince of Parma, Governor of the Low Countries for the king of Spain, specifically to expostulate with him on the publication of it.

For these eminent services to his church, he was at length on the twenty-eighth of July, 1587, created a Cardinal Priest, and in 1589, consecrated Archbishop of Mechlin, to which latter dignity the King of Spain added the gift of a rich abbey at Naples. The utter failure of the great Spanish naval expedition on which the Roman Catholics had founded such mighty hopes seems to have broken his spirit. He retired to Rome immediately after that event, "under a great disappointment," says Camden, "and at length tired out with the heats and dissensions of the English fugitives, both scholars and gentlemen." The historian, zealous as he was for the reformed faith, and writing under the influence almost naturally produced by his servitude to Elizabeth, speaks of Allen with less asperity than might have been expected; while Anthony Wood, more independent, though perhaps not unjustly suspected of some leaning to the Roman church, having very fairly stated the invectives of several authors against him, adds—"Let writers say what they please, certain it is that he was an active man, and of great parts, and high prudence. that he was religious, and zealous in his profession, restless till he had performed what he had undertaken. that he was very affable, genteel, and winning, and that his person was handsome and proper; which, with an innate gravity, commanded respect from those that came near, or had to do with him." His taste in literary composition was admirable. Of his Latin little need be said. The age in which he lived was ornamented by many distinguished writers in that language, and

it would have been strange indeed had not such a man appeared in the foremost rank but his English style was incomparable, At once dignified and simple ; clear and concise ; choice in terms without the slightest affectation ; and full of an impassioned liveliness which rivetted the attention even to his gravest disquisitions , it stood then wholly unrivalled, and would even now furnish no unworthy model Such however is the weakness, and it is almost blameless, of human prejudice, that the merits of the writer were condemned to share in the abomination of his doctrines, and that an example which might have anticipated the gradual progress of nearly a century in the improvement of English prose was rejected, because he who set it was a rebel and a Papist.

Cardinal Allen wrote, in addition to the works already mentioned, “ A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholics concerning Purgatory, 1565 ,” “ An Apology, and true Declaration, of the Institution and Endeavours of the two English Colleges in Rome, and at Rheims, 1581 ,” “ *Apologia pro Sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu, et Seminariorum alumni contra Edicta Regiæ*,” which I have never seen, and of which the book mentioned before it was probably a translation , “ *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* ;” and “ *Piissima Admonitio et Consolatio verè Christiana ad afflictos Catholicos Angliæ*,” the three last named tracts printed in one volume, 1583 , and “ A true, sincere, and modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their Faith both at home and abroad, against a scandalous Libel, intituled the Execution of Justice in England,” without date, of which a translation into Latin was published in 1584.

This very eminent person died at Rome on the 6th of October, 1594, and was buried in the chapel of the English College there.



Engraving by S. P. N. N.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

OB 1596

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF TOTHAM

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

THE narrative of a life for the materials of which no better source could exist than the journal and log-book of a naval commander, and in the absence too of those very authorities, may seem to promise very little of general interest. Drake was a seaman from his cradle, and applied to his profession talents which might have rendered him eminent in any character with such undeviating perseverance that we never find him for an instant in another: yet so dear is that character to Englishmen, that they will dwell with delight on the insulated detail of his expeditions; on discoveries insignificant in the sight of modern navigators, and on tactics which have become obsolete; on motives which have long ceased to actuate our national policy, and on results of the benefit of which we are no longer sensible.

His birth, as might be expected, was mean. In a pedigree of the descendants of his brother Thomas, the inheritor of his wealth, recorded in the Visitation of Devonshire made in 1620, he is simply stated to have been a son of "Robert Drake of that county," and the name even of his mother does not appear. Camden however has left us some particulars of his origin, which, in spite of an anachronism or two that have not escaped the vigilance of antiquarian zeal, may be depended on, especially as he informs us that they were communicated to him by Drake himself. His father, as we learn from this respectable authority, had embraced the Protestant persuasion, and having been threatened with prosecution under the terrible law of the Six Articles, fled his country and wandered into Kent. "There," continues Camden, "after the death of Henry the eighth, he got a place among the seamen in the King's navy, to read prayers to them, and soon

after he was ordained deacon, and made vicar of the church of Upnor, upon the river Medway, where the royal navy usually rides · but, by reason of his poverty, he put his son apprentice to the master of a bark, his neighbour, who held him closely to his business, by which he made him an able seaman, his bark being employed in coasting along the shore, and sometimes in carrying merchandise into Zealand and France. The youth, being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by his last will." It is said, but with some uncertainty, that he was born in the town of Tavistock, in 1545.

In his early manhood he became purser of a merchant ship trading to Spain, and two years after made a voyage to Guinea, probably in the same capacity. About this time he attracted the notice of his countryman, and, as some have reported, his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, and was in 1567 appointed by that celebrated navigator captain of a ship named the Judith, in which he accompanied Hawkins to South America, and eminently distinguished himself in the more glorious than fortunate exploits in the Gulf of Mexico, which were the issue of that expedition Drake lost in it the whole of that little which he had saved in his more humble employments, but he returned with a reputation which presently attracted public attention, and with a knowledge of the wealth, and an experience of the naval warfare and resources of Spain in those parts, which enabled him to form the most promising plans for his future prosperity. He determined to invite the resolute, the needy, and the avaricious, to join him in an expedition thither, and represented to them, with a power of persuasion with which he is said to have been eminently gifted, the vast acquisitions that might be expected, and the clear probability of success. The bait was taken with an eagerness at least equal to his hopes, and in 1570, and the following year, he made two voyages, the former with two ships, the latter with one; and in these trips, though his private view in undertaking

them extended not beyond mere experiment which he could not have prosecuted without assistance, he managed with such sagacity as to encourage those who had adventured with him by an ample return ; to render himself independent ; and to prevent in a great measure any suspicion in the Spaniards of the extent of the designs which he secretly meditated against them.

In 1573, however, they were somewhat disclosed. On the twenty-fourth of March in that year he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship named the *Pascha*, accompanied by another in which he had performed his two former voyages, called the *Swan*, in which he placed one of his brothers, John Drake. On board these vessels, which were of very moderate burthen, he had no more than seventy-three men and boys ; yet with this slender force he stormed on the twenty-second of the following July, the town of *Nombre de Dios*, in the Isthmus of Darien, and soon after seized that of *Venta Cruz*, where he obtained a considerable booty ; but the most important result of these acquisitions was the establishment of a friendly intercourse with some rulers of the natives, by the aid of whose intelligence he intercepted a convoy of plate, as it was the custom then to call it, of such enormous bulk that he abandoned the silver from mere inability to convey it, and brought only the gold to his ships. It is needless to say that he returned with immense wealth ; and the fidelity and exactness, with which he allotted to his partners their respective shares in his good fortune, contributed equally with it to raise his fame. The people, in the mean time, in their hatred to Spain, which Elizabeth used every artifice to chafe, viewed the success of his piracies, for they were nothing less, with rapture. Enriched himself, beyond all the occasions of even splendid domestic life, he now gave way to a laudable ambition to shine in public service, and to recommend himself effectually to a court and government in which much of the ancient love of warlike gallantry yet subsisted, fitted out at his own charge, three frigates, with which he sailed to Ireland, to serve as a volunteer against the rebels, in

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

aid of the land forces under the command of Walter, Earl of Essex. Stowe, without reciting the particulars of his conduct, informs us that he performed many glorious actions there. His stay however in Ireland was short, and on the premature death of that nobleman he returned ; but the secret object of his excursion was fully obtained, for he acquired, probably through the recommendation of the amiable Essex, the patronage of Sir Christopher Hatton, by whom he was soon after introduced to Elizabeth.

Drake, in his last American voyage, had formed an imperfect outline of the enterprize which has immortalized his name. "He had descried," says Camden, "from some mountains the South Sea Hereupon," continues the historian, "the man being inflamed with ambition of glory, and hopes of wealth, was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, that, falling down upon his knees, he implored the divine assistance that he might at some time or other sail thither, and make a perfect discovery of the same ; and hereunto he bound himself with a vow. From that time forward his mind was pricked continually to perform that vow." He now besought and obtained the aid and countenance of the Queen to his project for a voyage thither, through the Straits of Magellan, an undertaking to which no Englishman had ever yet aspired. On the fifteenth of November, 1577, he sailed from Plymouth in a ship of one hundred tons, called the Pelican, having under his command the Elizabeth, of eighty tons ; the Swan, of fifty ; the Marygold, of thirty ; and the Christopher of fifteen ; embarking in his little fleet no more than one hundred and sixty four men, amply supplied however with all necessary provisions. He concealed from his comrades of all ranks the course that he intended to take, giving out that it was for Alexandria ; and, after having been forced by a severe storm to return to the English coast to refit, quitted it finally on the thirteenth of December.

Drake's celebrated voyage is so well known, that it would be

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

impertinent to give here any enlarged detail of it. On the twentieth of August, having previously dismissed, for what reason we are not clearly told, two of the vessels which had accompanied him, he entered the Straits of Magellan, where a terrible storm separated him from the others, and he proceeded alone. On the twenty-fifth of September he quitted the Straits, and sailed, still molested by tempest, to the coast of Chili and Peru, which he skirted, attacking the Spanish settlements, which were wholly defenceless, and, having obtained immense spoil, prepared to return to England. Apprehensive however of the vengeance of the Spaniards, among whom the alarm was now fully spread, he determined to avoid the track by which he had entered the Pacific Ocean, and bent his course to the shores of North America, seeking, with that spirit of enterprize which so eminently distinguished him, a passage to Europe by the north of California. Disappointed in this endeavour, he sailed to the East Indies, and, returning to England by the Cape of good Hope, landed at Plymouth on the third of November, 1580, the first of his countrymen by whom the honour of circumnavigating the whole of the known world had ever been enjoyed.

His arrival in London was hailed by the multitude with the utmost extravagance of approbation, but among the cool and discerning many were disposed to censure his conduct with severity. The policy, as well as the legality, of conniving at the sort of warfare which he had used against the Spaniards was freely questioned. His moral character was arraigned; and he was reported to have sacrificed to the private vengeance of the Earl of Leicester one of his principal officers, Doughty, whom he had charged with mutiny, and caused to be put to death during his voyage. In the mean time he was not without apologists of the better sort, who alledged that his attacks on the Spanish colonies were clearly justifiable under the laws of reprisal, and that Doughty, which seems to have been the fact, was regularly tried and condemned by such a Court Martial as could be formed

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

under the circumstances of the expedition. While these questions were contending with increasing heat, Elizabeth suddenly turned the balance in his favour by the most unequivocal and public marks of her grace. She visited him on board his ship at Deptford; partook of a splendid banquet which he had provided, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood, commanding, among many other compliments of the most flattering nature that the vessel in which he had achieved the voyage should be carefully preserved, as a precious memorial of his merit, and of the glory of her realm.

These testimonies of approbation produced in Drake their usual effect on generous and active minds, an ardent desire to signalize himself by further exploits. The rank, however, to which his fame and his immense wealth had now raised him in society forbade the further prosecution of that order of enterprize from which he had derived them, and some years elapsed before Elizabeth's determination to commence offensive hostilities against Spain, enabled her to call his powers into action in her immediate service. At length, in 1585, he received for the first time a royal commission, and was appointed to the command of twenty-one ships of war, with which, having on board eleven thousand soldiers, he sailed in the autumn to the West Indies, and, after having sacked the towns of St. Jago and St. Domingo, passed to the coast of Florida, when he took Carthagena, and destroyed several other settlements of smaller importance. In 1587 he was dispatched with four of the largest ships in the Queen's navy, to which the merchants of London added twenty-six vessels of various burthens, to Spain, and in the Bay of Cadiz dispersed and crippled a fleet which lay there, completely equipped, under orders to proceed to Lisbon, the appointed rendezvous for the grand armada, destroying more than a hundred of their store ships, and several superior vessels. He then returned to Cape St. Vincent, ravaging the coast in his way, and at the mouth of the Tagus ineffectually challenged the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

Spanish Admiral, to an engagement. Having performed this splendid service, which obliged Philip to defer for a whole year the execution of his great project of invasion, Drake turned his attention for an interval to his old friends the merchants, and, using a discretion not uncommon in those days of imperfect discipline, sailed to the Azores, to intercept a carrack of immense value, of whose coming from the East Indies he had received secret intelligence, which he accomplished, and returned to his country to receive new honours from his Sovereign, and increased homage from her subjects. In the ever memorable service of the following year, Drake, whom Elizabeth had appointed Vice Admiral under Lord Howard of Effingham, had the chief share. His sagacity, his activity, and his undaunted courage, were equally conspicuous in the series of mighty actions which composed it, and the terrible vengeance experienced by the dispersed and flying Armada was inflicted principally by his division of the fleet. Don Pedro de Valdes, a Spanish Admiral, by whom the enterprize had been planned, deemed it an honour to have surrendered to him, and was long entertained by him with a generous hospitality, which proved that Drake was as well versed in the chivalrous courtesies as in the essentials of war. In his success in this glorious victory terminated the unmixed felicity which had hitherto invariably attended him.

The year 1589 was distinguished by the ill-concerted and mismanaged attempt to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. In the expedition destined to that service the fleet was commanded by Sir Francis Drake, and the military, amounting to eleven thousand, by Sir John Norris. Drake had never before in any of his enterprises had a partner, and the main features of his character were such as might be expected to disqualify him for any division of authority. The commanders disagreed in the outset. Drake proposed to sail directly to Lisbon, but Norris insisted that the troops should be landed at Corunna, which the Admiral not only conceded, but promised

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

to conduct the fleet immediately after up the Tagus to the capital. Unforeseen obstacles prevented his keeping his word ; Norris loaded him with reproaches ; and attributed the utter failure of the plan, which in fact arose from various causes, to Drake's absence. The Admiral was obliged to explain and justify his conduct to the Queen and Council, and was acquitted of all cause of blame, but his high spirit had been wounded by the mere enquiry, and he sought to console it by new views of conquest.

Some years passed, though the war with Spain still subsisted, before an opportunity presented itself. At length he prevailed on Elizabeth once more to send a powerful armament to Spanish America, under the direction of himself, and his old friend and original patron, Sir John Hawkins, and in a great measure at their private expense, the Queen however furnishing some of her stoutest ships. The fleet, consisting of twenty-seven vessels, which had been long detained by Spanish rumours, raised for the purpose of a new plan of invasion, sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of August, 1595. The plan of the expedition was to destroy Nombre de Dios, the scene of one of Drake's early and most gallant exploits, and then to march the troops, of which two thousand five hundred were embarked, to Panama; to seize the treasure supposed to have lately arrived there from Peru. When they were on the point of departure, Elizabeth apprized them that the Plate fleet had arrived in Spain, with the exception of one rich galleon, which had returned to Porto Rico for some necessary repairs, and which she advised them in the first place to secure. They left England differing in opinion on this question, Hawkins, anxious to follow without delay the Queen's direction, and Drake earnest to commence their operations by a descent on the Island of Teneriffe, which was accordingly made, and proved wholly unsuccessful. They then sailed to Dominica, and in the interval the Spaniards, who had been apprised of the main purposes of the voyage, dispatched a strong convoy for the galleon,

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

which they brought off in safety, and so powerfully reinforced Porto Rico, that the English on their arrival there, were obliged to content themselves with ravaging to little purpose the craft in the harbour, and to retire without having made any impression on the town, nor was their attack on Panama, which was made about Christmas Day, more fortunate. Hawkins died, as is said, of a broken heart, amidst these reverses, and Drake barely survived them. A settled melancholy, attended by a slow fever, and terminating in a dysentery, the common disease of the country, carried him off on the twenty-eighth of January, 1595, O. S. in the fifty-first, or, according to some, in the fifty-fifth, year of his age.

Little has been said here of the natural character of this eminent person, and some circumstances of his life have been hitherto purposely omitted, for the sake of concluding this sketch with the very words of a writer of the fair sex, who has laid before us, in a late publication of singular merit, the fruits of most laborious and accurate historical research, clothed in the light and easy garb of refined table-talk. "The character of Sir Francis Drake," says this lady "was remarkable not alone for those constitutional qualities of valour, industry, capacity, and enterprize, which the history of his exploits would necessarily lead us to infer, but for virtues founded on principle and reflection, which render it in a high degree the object of respect and moral approbation. It is true that his aggressions on the Spanish settlements were originally founded on a vague notion of reprisals, equally irreconcilable to public law and private equity; but with the exception of this error, which may find considerable palliation in the deficient education of the man, the prevalent opinions of the day, and the peculiar animosity against Philip the second cherished in the bosom of every protestant Englishman, the conduct of Drake appears to demand almost unqualified commendation. It was by sobriety, by diligence in the concern of his employers, and by a tried integrity, that he early raised himself from the humble

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

station of an ordinary seaman to the command of a vessel. When placed in authority over others, he shewed himself humane and considerate. His treatment of his prisoners was exemplary; his veracity unimpeached, his private life religiously pure and spotless. In the division of the rich booty which frequently rewarded his valour and his toils, he was liberal towards his crews, and scrupulously just to the owners of his vessels; and in the appropriation of his own share of wealth he displayed that munificence towards the public, of which since the days of Roman glory history has recorded so few examples. With the profits of one of his earliest voyages, in which he captured the town of Venta Cruz, and made prize of a string of mules laden with silver, he fitted out three stout frigates, and sailed with them to Ireland, where he served as a volunteer under Walter Earl of Essex, and performed many brilliant actions. After the capture of a rich Spanish carrack at the Terceras in 1587, he undertook at his own expense to bring to the town of Plymouth, which he represented in Parliament, a supply of spring water, of which necessary article it suffered a great deficiency. This he accomplished by means of a canal or aqueduct above twenty miles in length. Drake incurred some blame in the expedition to Portugal for failing to bring his ships up the river to Lisbon, according to his promise to Sir John Norris, the General; but, on explaining the case before the Privy Council on his return, he was entirely acquitted by them, having made it appear that, under all the circumstances, to have carried the ships up the Tagus would have been to expose them to damage, without any benefit to the service. By his enemies this great man was stigmatised as vain and boastful—a slight infirmity in one who had achieved so much by his own unassisted genius, and which the great flow of natural eloquence which he possessed may at once have produced and rendered excuseable.”

It has been erroneously asserted that Sir Francis Drake died a bachelor. He married, probably in his middle age, Elizabeth,

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

daughter and heir of Sir George Sydenham, of Combe Sydenham, in Devonshire, who survived him, and re-married to William Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, in the same county. He left however no issue, and his brother Thomas became his heir, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis, who was created a Baronet in 1622, and is at present represented by his lineal descendant, Sir Francis Henry Drake, of Buckland Monachorum, in the county of Devon.

PHILIP HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

THOMAS, fourth Duke of Norfolk, the first victim of his illustrious House to the jealousy of Elizabeth, took to his first wife Mary, second of the two daughters and coheirs of Henry Fitzalan, last Earl of Arundel of his family. By this lady he had an only son, whose birth proved fatal to his mother, who had not attained to the age of seventeen; but the child survived, and became the Peer who will be the subject of the present memoir.

He was born at Arundel House, in the Strand, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1557, and baptized in the Palace of Whitehall with uncommon distinction, in the presence of the King and Queen, and Philip, who was his godfather, and in compliment to whom he was named, left England for ever on the very day that the ceremony was performed. Notwithstanding this, and other royal flatteries, the Duke, his father, educated him in the protestant profession, which however he quitted at an early age for the religion of his ancestors, and from his sincerity in that mode of faith, and the patience and constancy with which he suffered the calamities which resulted from it, he seems to have fairly merited the title of martyr. The paternal dignities which he would have inherited having been swept away by his father's attainder, he assumed that of Earl of Arundel in right of his mother, the possession of the castle of Arundel (a rare instance in this country, where local honours are almost unknown), having been solemnly adjudged in Parliament in the eleventh year of Henry the Sixth to carry with it the Earldom. He was accordingly summoned among the Peers by that title in 1583, and in the same year restored in blood.

He possessed for a time a considerable share of Elizabeth's

PHILIP HOWARD,

favour, which he probably owed to his youth, and other personal attractions, for he was, according to an account of him, written long after his death, by a domestic priest to his Countess, and which is still preserved at Norfolk House, "a very tall," or, as we should now say, stout, "man, and somewhat swarthy," to which Dodd, in his Church History, adds that, "he had an agreeable mixture of sweetness and grandeur in his countenance." The Queen's partialities in this kind were in most cases nearly as fatal to their objects as her resentments, and so it proved in this instance. The Earl had been married at the age of fourteen to Anne, sister and coheir of Thomas, last Lord Dacre of Gillesland, of whom we shall presently give, as her memory well merits, some particulars. Elizabeth, says the manuscript lately quoted, "could not endure her, nor indeed the wife of any other to whom she shewed especial favour, and this distaste of the Queen's led the Earl to neglect his Lady, on which score his maternal grandfather, the old Earl of Arundel, and his aunt, the Lady Lumley, were so displeased that they alienated much of their property to others."

The Earl however was so captivated by the royal grace, that (to use again the words of the manuscript, from which I will observe, once for all, that such of the present memoir as is not of a public nature is chiefly extracted) "he made great feasts at Arundel House for the Ambassadors, Ministers, &c. on Coronation days, and other rejoicing days, and entertained the Queen, and all her Court, at Kenninghall and Norwich, for many days together." At one of these banquets, at Arundel House, Elizabeth herself had the profligate baseness to conceal herself, with Leicester, to overhear a conversation between the Earl and Sir Francis Walsingham and Lord Hunsdon, whom she had directed to tempt him into discourse on the subject of religion. It was probably soon after this flagrant breach of hospitality that he became suspected of intriguing in favour of the Queen of Scots, and was placed in confinement in his own house, from which

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Elizabeth offered to release him if he would attend her to chapel, and hear the service of the reformed Church, which he steadily refused. No matter, however, of specific accusation being yet ripe against him, he was set at liberty ; but soon after again apprehended, and committed to the Tower, from whence also he was released for want of evidence against him. These repeated attacks, the jealousy of some great men, and, in particular, of Lord Hunsdon, who had been his father's page, and owed great obligations to his family ; and the outrageous rigour with which the penal statutes against the Papists were then enforced, determined him to quit England, and he withdrew himself into Sussex, where, having been betrayed, as is said, by some of his servants, he was seized as he was about to embark on an obscure part of the coast, near his castle of Arundel, and again committed to the Tower. He was now prosecuted in the Star Chamber, and condemned to a fine of ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure, merely on the charges of entertaining Romish priests in his family ; of corresponding with Cardinal Allen ; and of meditating to leave the kingdom without the Queen's permission. In support of these accusations, scarcely anything like proof was produced.

After four years' confinement, mostly so close as to prevent the possibility of new offence, he was arraigned of high treason, and on the fourteenth of April, 1589, brought to trial in Westminster Hall, where of the whole body of the Peerage only twenty-five appeared to sit in judgement on him. He comported himself with great dignity and firmness. " When called on," says Camden, " to hold up his hand, he raised it very high, saying ' here is as true a man's heart and hand as ever came into this hall.' " In addition to the points which had been alleged against him in the Star Chamber, he was now accused of conspiring with Cardinal Allen to restore the Catholic faith in England ; of having suggested that the Queen was unfit to govern ; and of ordering masses to be said for the success of the Spanish Armada : that he

PHILIP HOWARD,

intended to have withdrawn himself out of the realm; to serve with the Duke of Parma against his native country, and that he had been privy to the measure of issuing the Bull of Pope Pius the fifth, for transferring Elizabeth's Crown to Philip of Spain

History can scarcely produce another instance of so wretched and so wicked a perversion of judicial proceeding. Of the three witnesses produced against him, Sir Thomas Gerrard, a man of the name of Shelley, and Bennet, a priest, the two former had nothing to say, and the last, having previously declared by a letter to the Earl that his original false information to the Privy Council had been extorted from him by the rack, now spoke only as to the Mass said for the success of the Spanish expedition under the dread of a repetition of torture. To this parole testimony, if it deserve to be so called, was added the production of two emblematical paintings which had been found in the Earl's custody, the one representing a hand throwing a serpent into fire, with the motto "if God is for us who can be against us?" the other, a lion without claws, inscribed "yet still a lion;" and of some foreign letters in which he was styled "Duke of Norfolk." In the end, no charge of high treason could be substantiated against him except on the ground of his having been reconciled to the Church of Rome, and on that only was he found guilty. His speeches during the trial evinced strong and polished talents. He repelled the partial and desultory attacks of Popham, the Attorney General, by acute observations and prompt and ingenious argument, uttered occasionally with rhetorical elegance. "The Attorney General," said he, "has managed the letters and confessions produced against me as spiders do flowers, by extracting from them nothing but their poison."

Sentence of death however was passed on him, but Elizabeth had secretly resolved that it should not be executed. He passed the remainder of his unfortunate life in close confinement, unceasingly employing himself in the strictest practice of devotion, and in the exercise of his pen on religious and moral subjects.

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

“ One book of Lanspergius,” says the manuscript at Norfolk House, “ containing an epistle of Jesus Christ to the faithful Soul, he translated out of Latin into English, and caused it to be printed for the furtherance of devotion. He wrote also three treatises on the excellency and utility of virtue, which never came to light, by reason he was obliged to send them away upon fear of a search before they were fully perfected and polished.” Two memorials of his pious disposition remain in a secluded apartment in what is called Beauchamp’s Tower, in the Tower of London, which was his prison, and whose walls are covered with melancholy devices by the hands of many illustrious state prisoners. We find there the following inscriptions, the former of which has by some accident been omitted in the account of this interesting room published by the Society of Antiquaries in the thirteenth volume of their *Archæologia*.

“ Sicut peccati causa vinciri opprobrium est, ita, e contra, pro Christo custodiæ vincula sustinere maxima gloria est.”

“ Arundell,
26th of May 1587.”

“ Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc sæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro.

“ Arundell,
June 22, 1587.”

He was suddenly taken ill in August, 1592, immediately after eating a roasted teal, the sauce of which was supposed to contain poison ; for the cook who prepared it, and whom he had always suspected, and frequently endeavoured in vain to get removed, came to him when on his death-bed, and earnestly besought forgiveness for some offence, which however he would not disclose. The Earl narrowly escaped for the time with life, and lingered for nearly three years in extreme weakness, but never recovered. Shortly before his departure he petitioned the Queen for permis-

PHILIP HOWARD,

sion that his Lady, and some other friends, might visit him ; and she answered “ that if he would but once attend the protestant worship his prayer should be granted, and he should be moreover restored to his honours and estates, and to all the favour that she could show him.” He was released from his miseries by the hand of death on Sunday, the nineteenth of October, 1595, and was buried on the following Tuesday in the chapel of the Tower, in the same grave with the Duke his father, where his body remained till the year 1624, when his widow and his son obtained permission to remove it to Arundel, where it was interred in an iron coffin, with an epitaph in Latin, stating the principal points of his persecution, and that he died “ non absque veneni suspitione.”

The Countess, his wife, possessed considerable talents, and virtues yet more eminent. She was a most earnest and zealous Roman Catholick, and it was probably through her persuasion and example that the Earl, after their reconciliation, became a member of that Church. The instances given of her charity, her humility, and her patience, seem almost romantic. Several original letters from her to her daughter in law, Alatheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel, are now in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, and are composed in the best style of her time, and in a strain of unaffected piety, and natural tenderness, which lets us at once into her true character. Part of an elegiac poem written by her, probably on the premature death of her Lord, remains also in the same custody, and abounds with the imperfect beauties of a strong, but unpolished, poetical fancy. Elizabeth's hatred pursued her, even after the death of her husband. His attainder having thrown all his property into the Crown, and left her destitute, the Queen allowed her only eight pounds weekly, which was so ill paid that the Countess was frequently obliged to borrow, in order to procure common necessaries, was prevailed on, with much difficulty, to permit her to live in Arundel House in the Strand, from whence however she was always driven when

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Elizabeth thought fit to reside in its neighbourhood, in Somerset House; occasionally imprisoned her; often insulted her; and always vilified her.

These noble persons had one son, Thomas, who was restored by King James the first to his father's dignities and estates, and was afterwards the Earl of Arundel so highly distinguished by his admirable collection of works of refined taste and art: and one daughter, Elizabeth, who died unmarried at the age of fifteen years.



Engraved by W. Stoll

JOHN FIRST LORD MAITLAND OF THIRLESTANE,

OB. 1593

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF JAMES DUNLOP

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND,

OF THIRLESTANE.

JOHN MAITLAND, perhaps in all respects the most eminent of a family in which great talents and elegant genius seem to have passed almost with the regularity of hereditary succession, was the second son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, and a Lord of Session, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranstoun. He was born, according to some accounts, about the year 1537, though the inscription on his tomb, in stating the age at which he died, fixes his birth to 1545. The latter date, however plausible the authority, is probably incorrect, for it can scarcely be believed that he should have succeeded to those offices of high trust in which we shall presently find him when he had scarcely attained to years of manhood. He was bred with much care in the study of the law, both in Scotland and on the continent, and we are told that he had passed some years in fruitless attendance at the Court when he was provided for by a grant of the Abbey of Kelso, which he afterward exchanged for the Priory of Coldingham, yet the date of the patent by which that exchange was ratified is so early as the seventh of February, 1566. On the twenty-sixth of August, in the following year, on the resignation of his father, the Privy Seal was given to him by the Regent Murray, and on the second of the succeeding June he was appointed a Lord of Session.

It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader of history that Maitland's admission into the ministry occurred at the most critical period of the reign of the celebrated Mary. She was then a prisoner in the Castle of Lochleven, and the questions of her deposition, and the advancement of her infant son to the throne,

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND,

were under discussion. His elder brother, William, at that time Secretary of State, a sketch of whose life is also given in this work, opposed those measures with the most earnest zeal; and he naturally followed the example of one to whose experience he looked for instruction, and to whom he was bound as well by ties of gratitude as of blood. Younger, however, and less artful, he sunk under the vengeance of the contrary party, while that subtle and intriguing politician was left for a time at liberty to pursue his plans. He was deprived of his offices and his benefice, and fled for security to the Castle of Edinburgh, then under the command of Kirkaldy of Grange, a firm and able supporter of Mary's interests, with whom his brother also was at length obliged to seek refuge. Here he remained till that fortress surrendered to the troops of the Earl of Morton, now Regent, when he was sent to the Castle of Tantallon, and early in the following year was removed to a less rigorous custody in the house of Lord Somerville, where he remained a prisoner till the fall of Morton, in 1581, when he was released by an order of the Privy Council.

He came again to the Court with every claim to distinction. His abilities were of the highest class, the character of his mind generous, honourable, and candid; his loyalty pure and disinterested. It had subjected him to an imprisonment of many years, during which he had seen his brother fall a victim to the public principles on which they had mutually acted. James received him with becoming gratitude. On his arrival he was appointed a Senator of the College of Justice, and, on the eighteenth of May, 1584, knighted; and placed in the office of Secretary of State, which had been so long and ably held by his brother. He now became in fact first minister of Scotland, for James, whose ripening mind discovered that he had at last obtained a servant at once wise, faithful, and moderate, held him in the most perfect confidence, while the nobility, tired of parties, and unable to subdue the storms which themselves had raised, beheld without jealousy the favour of one in whom they could,

OF THIRLESTANE.

discover no disposition to mix in their intrigues, or to rival their power. He had, however, enemies. James Stuart, the first, and the most worthless, of the long series of minions by whom the Crown of his master was tarnished, not only conceived a bitter hatred against him, but inspired most of the junior branches of the House of Stuart with the same sentiment. This man, with no apparent recommendation but illegitimate descent from the blood royal, James had promoted, as it should seem by an act of insanity, from the station of Captain of his Guard to that of Lord Chancellor, with an Earldom. His power became, even in a few months, unbounded, and his fall was as sudden. He fled with terror from one of those violent attacks which public vengeance then so often produced in Scotland, aided in this instance by the secret influence of Elizabeth, and would have been scarcely again heard of had he not from his retirement accused the Secretary of being accessory to the death of Mary, and of a design to deliver up the person of the King to the Queen of England. When cited to substantiate the charges, which were universally discredited, he neither appeared, or produced witnesses, and James, having kept the office of Chancellor virtually vacant for a considerable time, in the vain hope that his dastardly favourite might return, at length bestowed it on Maitland. His patent or commission for that post is dated on the thirty-first of May, 1587.

Stuart's accusation had been in fact addressed to the royal and the popular feelings of the moment, and failed for want of the support which he expected from them. Maitland, dispassionate, impartial, and consistent, endeavoured to the last to save the unhappy Mary, but, the fatal blow having been stricken, exerted his utmost powers of persuasion to save his master from the ruinous consequences of an impotent resentment, and succeeded, and on a misconstruction of this wise policy, which to ordinary and heated minds might seem to indicate at least an indifference to her tragical fate, had Stuart hoped to insinuate that he had been a party in accelerating it. The disposition of Maitland indeed

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND,

was not less pacific than that of James, but the forbearance of the one arose from prudence ; of the other from timidity The King, therefore, was submissive only to his brother Sovereigns, the minister moderate towards all. In this spirit he undertook and accomplished the difficult task of reconciling James to the Lords who had been banished to England ; and laboured incessantly, though with incomplete success, to compose the unhappy differences which, from private as well as public causes, agitated the great body of the Scottish nobility. In the same spirit too, though not without a secret affection to puritanism, he strove to persuade the King to let the monstrous insolences of the preachers of that sect to his Crown and person pass with impunity ; advising him, says Spotswood, “ to leave them to themselves, for they would render themselves ridiculous, by their actings, to the people ; whereas his Majesty, by imprisoning of them for their undutiful speeches and behaviour, rendered them the object of their compassion.” It is not surprising that James should have rejected advice at once so odious to his feelings, and of such doubtful policy.

In the memorable year, 1588, he opened the business of the Parliament which James had called to advise him on the great impending designs of Philip of Spain, with a speech so wise and patriotic, that some of the Scottish historians have preserved the substance of it much at large He deprecated with warmth all correspondence with Philip ; advised that Scotland should be put into the best state of defence ; a faithful amity maintained with Elizabeth ; and that the utmost military force which could be raised, and safely spared, might be sent to England, should she claim such aid. Among those, however, whom he addressed on that occasion were men not only envious of his power, but corrupted by the bribes and promises of Spain, and secretly engaged, should Philip find it convenient to his designs to land a force in Scotland, to do their best to secure a safe passage for it into the adjoining realm. At the head of these was another Stuart, the

OF THIRLESTANE.

lately created Earl of Bothwell, a man of an intriguing and restless disposition, and a most determined enemy to Maitland. Combined with the Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, he now laid a plan, if a design so extravagant can be properly so called, to seize the person of the King, or the Chancellor, or both, even in the royal palace. The execution, or rather failure, of this enterprise, is very obscurely related by the Scottish writers. We are told that the conspirators, attended by several armed men, gained admission into an apartment in which the King was conferring with Maitland, few others being present. That James, having expressed to Huntley, who headed the party, his surprise at their presence, quitted the room, and was presently after followed by the Chancellor, the intruders remaining inactive. It is declared, however, that some resolute persons then with the King, who were earnest friends to Maitland, threw themselves about his person, and guarded his retreat; and it is probable that from this shew of defence the others inferred that their design had been disclosed, and preparations made to receive them. They left the palace, seemingly panic-struck; James, after some shew of displeasure, pardoned them for the insolence which they had offered; and they retired to meditate a better digested attack.

Nor was this long deferred. In the spring of 1589 the same noblemen, instigated, say the writers of the time, by the Roman Catholic party, assembled in open insurrection at Aberdeen, when they issued a proclamation, asserting "that the King was kept a prisoner by the Chancellor, and forced, against his mind, to use his nobility with that rigour to which he was naturally averse; and requiring all the lieges to concur with them, and assist them to set his person at liberty." James raised some troops, and marched to meet them. They submitted, without striking a blow; were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty, and, after a short restraint, the King, to flatter the Catholic party, whose protection he sought against the puritans,

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND,

granted them a free pardon, Maitland, with a policy amiable in appearance, and prudent in fact, having interceded peculiarly for Bothwell.

While these matters were passing, James formed a resolution to offer his hand to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and on his return to his capital imparted it to his Privy Council, and met with a steady opposition. Elizabeth, determined to thwart every treaty of marriage that he might propose, had secretly gained over a majority of that body to her purpose, and it is impossible to remove from the character of the Chancellor a strong suspicion that he had engaged to forward her design. It is evident that James entertained that opinion, for his resentment fell on Maitland alone, and at length arose to such a height, that, having failed in all endeavours to obtain his concurrence, he condescended to employ secret agents to inflame the mob of Edinburgh against the Chancellor, and to induce them to threaten his life, should the marriage be prevented, or even delayed. In the mean time his enemies in the Court laboured incessantly in aggravating his offence, and renewing their former accusations, and he seems to have been on the point of ruin, when he extricated himself, apparently by an expedient so simple, and of such doubtful sincerity, that his restoration to favour may be more probably ascribed to the King's habitual regard for him. "The Chancellor," says Melvil, who was no friend to him, "being advertised of his Majesty's discontent and displeasure, caused it to come to his Majesty's ears that he would sail himself, and bring the Queen home with him. He forgot not to anoint the hands of some who were most familiar with his Majesty to interpret this his design so favourably that it made the King forget all by-gones; and by little and little he informed him so well of the said voyage, and the great charges he had bestowed upon a fair and swift sailing ship, that his Majesty was moved to take the voyage himself, and to sail in the same ship with the Chancellor, with great secrecy, and short preparation, making no man privy thereto but such

OF THIRLESTANE.

as the Chancellor pleased, and such as formerly had all been upon his faction.”

They sailed on the twenty-second of October, 1589, and returned not till the twentieth of May. Maitland, who foresaw a storm rising against him at home, availed himself of this long leisure to suggest to James, for his own protection, several novelties in the form of the Scottish government, and in the usages of the Court; meanwhile his enemies in Scotland were not idle, nor had he been able to conceal from the Queen his aversion to her marriage. Anne, on her arrival, naturally enough attached herself to the party which sought his overthrow; and the remainder of his life was passed in fruitless endeavours, by alternate menaces and concessions, to avert the reverse of fortune which seemed to await him. A faction was formed against him among the principal nobility, and the Privy Council charged him with abusing the influence which he had possessed over the King in the undue acquisition of important grants of wealth and power to himself, his family, and his adherents. James, still earnestly attached to him, had barely composed this difference with the Council, when his great enemy Bothwell, who had lately escaped from a confinement on the charge of conspiring to compass the King's death by witchcraft, again appeared in arms, and, having published a declaration of his profound loyalty, and that the removal of the Chancellor was the sole object of his enterprize, once more sought the life of that minister in the King's palace and presence. A curious detail of the minute circumstances of this attack, too long to be inserted here, may be found in the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil.

Amidst this warfare on the Chancellor, James raised him to the Peerage: On the eighteenth of May, 1590, he received the title of Baron Maitland of Thirlestane, in Berwickshire. Armed with this proof that he yet enjoyed no small share of royal favour, he seems now first to have courted popularity. He resigned the office of Secretary, his long occupation of which together with the

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND,

great post of Chancellor had excited much disgust, and soon after prevailed on the King to pass that important statute by which the discipline and jurisdiction of the Kirk were finally legalized and confirmed in 1592. These conciliations had scarcely been offered when he gave a new offence to the Queen by retaining the possession of an estate which she claimed as a member of the Abbey of Dumfermline, presented to her by the King on their marriage, though Maitland had possessed the lands in question long before that marriage had been even meditated. She now raised a new faction against him in the Court, and he retired, broken down with vexations and disappointments, as well in his private as public affairs, to the country, where he remained most of the year 1593. At length, willing to make a final effort, he resigned the estate; was reconciled, and graciously received by her, and, in endeavouring to ensure her future good will, unfortunately lent his aid to an intrigue by which she sought to detach the Prince, her son, from the custody of the Earl of Mar, in which, by the single authority and special preference of the King, the infant had been placed. James, suddenly apprised of this scheme, fell into a transport of anger unusual to him. He reprehended the Chancellor with the utmost bitterness; charged him with treachery and ingratitude, and left him hopeless of pardon. He now retired, never to return. On arriving at his seat at Lauder, where he had built a magnificent mansion, he was seized by a fatal illness. James relented, and a letter from him, which the Chancellor received on his death bed, is still extant, and bears a pleasing testimony to the tenderness of the monarch's disposition. He died on the third of October, 1595, seemingly of the too common disease called a broken heart, and was buried at Haddington, under a magnificent tomb, which displays an epitaph in English verse, from the hand of his royal master.

The Chancellor Maitland occasionally relieved his severer studies by poetical composition, some specimens of which have been preserved. A satire written by him, "Aganis Sklanderous

OF THIRLESTANE.

Toungis," has been published by Mr. Pinkerton ; and several of his epigrams may be found in "*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum.*" He married Jane, only daughter and heir of James, fourth Lord Fleming, (who remarried John Kennedy, fifth Earl of Cassilis) and had issue by her John, who succeeded to his dignity, and was in 1624 created Viscount and Earl of Lauderdale ; and a daughter, Anne, married to Robert Seaton, second Earl of Wintoun.



Engraved by A. Heerman

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY

O.B. 1598

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK CHILDE IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF EXETER

WILLIAM CECIL,

LORD BURGHLEY.

No one can expect in this place a regular and digested detail even of the most prominent facts of this great man's life. The history of his country, and indeed of Europe, teem with the particulars of his political conduct, and though these have been repeatedly condensed, and embodied with much skill and labour, in forms of biography confined exclusively to his story, yet so abundant are the materials, and the theme of such mighty interest, that a life of this minister, combining on an ample scale authentic facts and judicious reasonings, with grace of style, and with that warmth of interest which only a real affection to the subject can bestow, would supply perhaps the most important deficiency in the whole circle of our historical literature. Little more can properly be done here than to collect some fleeting circumstances of his private and domestic conduct: to gather from obscure and neglected sources such as may be obtained of those smaller lights and shadows of character which the affected dignity of history has deemed unworthy of notice.

He descended from an ancient and respectable family of country gentlemen which had long been seated in the county of Hereford, a branch of which removed from thence into Lincolnshire, and settled there, in the neighbourhood of Stamford, on considerable estates, purchased by his grandfather, David Siselt, Sitsilt, or Cyssell, for thus variously does his name seem to have been spelled by this individual person. Numerous attempts were formerly made to trace the origin of his house to remote antiquity, for Burghley's foible, and perhaps he had no other, was to assume a credit for splendid ancestry, and he spared no pains in endea-

whole of the day. We are told that he suffered much there from a defluxion on his legs, which was ascribed to his sedentary habit, and was cured with difficulty; but this was probably his first attack of that inveterate gout which so cruelly afflicted his maturer years. His father having destined him to the profession of the law, he was entered of Gray's Inn in his twenty-first year, and, about three months after, married Mary, sister of the celebrated scholar Sir John Cheke. A casual disputation with two priests of the Romish Church on some points of doctrine, and of pontifical authority, is said to have introduced him a little before this period to the notice of Henry, who bestowed on him the reversion of an office in one of the courts of law; and the interest of his brother-in-law, who was preceptor to Edward the sixth, brought him early in the reign of that Prince into the favour of the Protector. He was appointed Master of Requests, and promoted soon after to the office of Secretary of State; was displaced, with the rest of Somerset's friends, and committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for some months; and not long before the King's death was restored by Dudley, who had discovered in him that cool wisdom of which his own intemperate counsels stood so much in need.

Cecil has been taxed with ingratitude, and indeed treachery, to his great patron Somerset, but the charge, which seems to have been grounded on his sudden acquisition of the favour of Northumberland, acquired little credit. Some suspicion, it is true, to that effect might probably have been built on the cold consolation which he offered to the Protector when that great man was tottering on the brink of final ruin. He solicited an interview with Cecil, then attached to the faction of Dudley; communicated to him his apprehensions of the impending blow; and asked his friendly advice. Cecil is said to have contented himself with answering that "if he were innocent, he might trust to that: if he were otherwise, he could but pity him." This anecdote, if it be genuine, furnishes no presumption of treachery. It savours

only of the frigid caution which must necessarily attend him who successfully endeavours to rise amidst a conflict of parties. Pure gratitude belongs, almost exclusively, to the intercourse of private society, and Cecil was a statesman by profession; almost by nature.

Aided by the same useful, however narrow, prudence, he steered with safety through the frightful difficulties which arose on the questionable succession to the Crown upon the death of Edward. When directed by that Prince to prepare the instrument for settling it on Jane Grey, he excused himself with admirable address, and shifted the performance of the office on the judges; and, when it was to be signed by the King, and the Privy Council, contrived, though himself a member of that body, that his name should appear on the face of it only as that of a witness to the royal signature. So, when Northumberland, on the King's demise, called on him to draw the proclamation declaring Jane's accession, and asserting her right to the throne, he excused himself by declining to invade the province of the Attorney and Solicitor General; and, shortly after, when the fortunes of that rash nobleman and his family were becoming desperate, positively denied his request to compose an argument in support of her title, and of the dispositions made by Henry for the exclusion of Mary. Armed with these pleas, from which at the best little could be inferred beyond a mere neutrality, he presented himself to that Princess in the very hour which had finally crushed the hopes of Jane, and was graciously received. He prudently took this opportunity to secure himself by a general pardon.

Reserved, mysterious, and perhaps too selfish, in his political views, he preserved however a noble integrity in his affection to the religious faith in which he had been bred. When Mary, on her accession, offered to continue him in the post of Secretary if he would conform to the Church of Rome, he steadfastly refused. In a manuscript account of his life, professed to have been written by one of his servants, which possesses much internal evidence of

authenticity, we are told that he answered the noble emissary who conveyed to him the Queen's pleasure on that occasion, "that he thought himself bound to serve God first, and next the Queen, but if her service should put him out of God's service, he hoped her Majesty would give him leave to chuse an everlasting rather than a momentary service; and, as for the Queen, she had been his so gracious lady, that he would ever serve and pray for her in his heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence as any of her loyal subjects, so she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at large, as a private man, which he chose rather than to be her greatest counsellor." The same authority informs us that he now commenced a correspondence with Elizabeth, in her captivity; communicated to her from time to time all public events in which her interests were concerned; assisted her with his counsels, and thus laid the foundation for that future exalted station in her favour which certainly seems to have rested little less on her personal regard for him than on her conviction of his wisdom and his fidelity.

He was the first person on whom she called for advice, for on the very day of her accession he presented to her minutes of twelve particular matters which required her instant attention, and the first appointment of her reign was to replace him in the office of Secretary. To this, three years after, she added that of Master of the Court of Wards, a post of considerable profit and patronage; on the 25th of February 1570, O. S. created him Baron of Burghley in Lincolnshire, in 1572 gave him the Order of the Garter, and in the autumn of that year he succeeded the old Marquis of Winchester as Lord High Treasurer, and so remained till his death, on the fourth of August, 1598, having presided uninterruptedly in the administration of public measures for thirty of the most glorious and happy years that England has ever known.

In every feature of this very eminent person's character we trace

WILLIAM CECIL,

some one or more of the qualifications for a great statesman, and in every particular of his public conduct we discover their fruition. He burst forth therefore in his youth upon public observation in the possession, almost intuitively, of those rare faculties which deride the slow march of experience, and scarcely need the protection of power; a fact almost incredible, had we not ourselves of late years witnessed a similar phenomenon. In a remarkable letter of Roger Aseham's, in the year 1550, chiefly on the learning of the English ladies, having spoken largely in the praise of the erudite Mildred Coke, who had then become the second wife of Cecil, he digresses to her husband, at that time in his thirtieth year, and a minister of some years standing. "It may be doubted," says the translator of Aseham, "whether she is most happy in the possession of this surprizing degree of knowledge; or in having had for her preceptor and father Sir Anthony Coke, whose singular erudition caused him to be joined with John Cheke in the office of tutor to the King; or, finally, in having become the wife of William Ceeil, lately appointed Seceretary of State; a young man indeed, but mature in wisdom, and so deeply skilled both in letters and affairs, and endued with such moderation in the exercise of public offices, that to him would be awarded by the consenting voice of Englishmen the four-fold praise attributed to Pericles by his rival Thucydides—to know all that is fitting; to be able to apply what he knows; to be a lover of his country; and to be superior to money."

Perhaps no better proof of his profound sagacity could be found than in the fact of his having, throughout the unusually protracted term of his administration, enjoyed the uninterrupted confidence and esteem of a Princess whom, if we can for a moment forget our own prejudices and her glory, we shall find little less capricious than her father, and almost as unprincipled. One solitary instance of an apparent suspension of her favour towards him accompanied the ridiculous disavowal of her intention to sign the death warrant of the unhappy Mary, and the infamous sacrifice

of Davison, through which she sought to conceal one crime by the commission of another; but this was mere affectation and artifice; he is said to have besought her pardon with a shew of the most humble contrition, and received it so speedily that the sincerity of her anger was even at that time doubted.

Burghley, a favourite without the name, was ever an overmatch for the unworthy Leicester, on whom that odious title was always bestowed. The fair fame which followed the one unsought was vainly pursued by the other, and thus will the steady and straightforward step of wisdom and rectitude always outstrip the eager and irregular efforts of cunning and deceit. Flattery seems to have had no share in procuring or maintaining to him the unbounded grace of his mistress, nor can an instance be found of his having used artifice to cultivate that popularity which he so largely enjoyed. He chastened with so just a judgment a naturally high spirit, and an ample consciousness of the dignity of his rank and place, as to obtain the reverence of many, and the esteem of the whole body, of the nobility, with the exception of a very few, the impotency of whose factious endeavours against him served but to increase the splendor of his reputation, and to strengthen the grasp with which he upheld the honour of the Crown, and the interests of the nation. Though Elizabeth is said to have ruled by the dexterous opposition of parties, she ever abstained from involving him in the collision. Indeed there is good reason to suppose that he joined her in the prosecution of this policy, and, by affecting a careless neutrality, increased the vain hopes of faction, and encouraged it to disclose its views. In the long course of his ministry, history records not a single instance of erroneous judgment; of persecution, or even severity, for any public or private cause; of indecorous ambition, or thirst of wealth; of haughty insolence, or mean submission. In a word, moderation, the visible sign of a moral sense critically just, was the guide of all his actions, decorated the purity of his religious faith with charity to its opponents, and tempered the sincere

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY.

warmth of his affection to the Crown with a due regard to all the civil institutions of the realm ; it has been therefore happily said of him, that “ he loved to wrap the prerogatives in the laws of the land.”

The same fine principle coloured the whole conduct of his private life. Without remarkable fondness or indulgence, he was the kindest husband, father, and master, among the great men of his time ; with few professions of regard, a warm friend ; a steady enemy, with passive resentment ; a cheerful, and even jocose companion, with cautious familiarity ; just in all his dealings, without ostentation, magnificent in his establishments, without profusion ; tenacious of the powers and privileges of his own high station, and tenderly careful of the rights of others. His two marriages, in both of which he was singularly fortunate, have been already mentioned. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Marquis of Exeter is lineally descended from the first, and the Marquis of Salisbury from the second. His second lady brought him likewise two daughters ; Anne, who became the wife of Edward de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford ; and Elizabeth, married to William, eldest son of Thomas Lord Wentworth.



ROBERT DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX,

THAT incomparable Essex, who was the second Earl of his family; the great favourite of Elizabeth, and of England; the admiration and the regret of Europe. In an age certainly inquisitive; at least pretending to exquisite taste and judgment; and peculiarly distinguished by its incessant and various employment of the press, it is astonishing that no regular and detailed celebration should have been dedicated to the memory of this very extraordinary man. We have been gorged, even to disgust, with tedious pieces of unmerited biography, and the actions and motives of plodding statesmen, insignificant courtiers, and rebels who resembled Essex in nothing but in their rank and their punishment, have been sifted and analysed with the most insufferable minuteness; while a thousand inestimable memorials of a character the exquisite perfections and errors of which were almost peculiar to itself, have been suffered to remain scattered and unconnected on the pages of history, or buried in undisturbed manuscript. How can we account for this omission? Have fear and modesty deterred modern biographers from venturing on a task to perform which worthily the pen must sometimes be dipped in the softest milk of human kindness, and sometimes into the burning fermentation of furious passions; or must we ascribe it to a submission, less excuseable, to the depraved taste of a time in which history is chiefly devoted to the discovery of political analogies, and to the suggestion of party arguments? The narrow compass to which these essays are limited prohibits the author from an attempt in which he could have but little chance of success. He must confine himself here to a mere recital of

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

circumstances. But it were earnestly to be wished that some one in whom delicate feeling is united to acute judgment, who could form a fair estimate of admirable merits and of venial imprudences, who may be qualified by an extensive knowledge of the history of the human heart as well as of his country, would write a life of the Earl of Essex.

He was the son of Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, &c. who had been created Earl of Essex by Elizabeth, in 1572, and whose portrait, with a sketch of his life and character, may be found elsewhere in this work. His mother was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, K. G. a relation, at no great distance, to Anne Bullen, the Queen's mother; and Robert, the elder of their two sons, was born at the Earl's seat of Netherwood, in Herefordshire, on the tenth of November, 1567. His childhood was undistinguished by any promise of more than ordinary parts. We are told indeed by Sir Henry Wotton, who may be said to have studied the history of the family, that his father had formed a very mean judgment of his understanding, and directed his attention therefore chiefly to the improvement of Walter, his younger son. Robert had not attained his tenth year when he succeeded to the honours and estates of his family. His father had committed him to the care of persons of uncommon wisdom and worth. Burghley was his guardian, and the severely virtuous Sussex, in discharge of a promise to the Earl on his death-bed, his firm friend. Sir Edward Waterhouse, a man perhaps equal to them in talents, as he certainly was in honour and integrity, personally superintended his affairs, and watched over his conduct with a vigilance which was sweetened, as well as strengthened, by the most earnest affection, for Waterhouse had been entirely beloved and trusted by the deceased Earl, and entered on his charge with a heart overflowing with kindness and gratitude. Towards the end of the year 1578, the young Essex, by the direction of Lord Burghley, became a student of Trinity College, in Cambridge. Whitgift, afterwards Primate, who was then

EARL OF ESSEX.

master of that house, undertook the direction of his education, and here the character and powers of his mind were presently unfolded: his obedient application to the severer orders of learning was not less remarked than his attachment to more polite studies, and he was distinguished for an elegance and fluency of composition of which his time afforded few instances. His manners were peculiarly engaging, his temper mild, compliant, and marked by a graceful seriousness which approached to melancholy; his moral conduct stained by no vice, and becomingly tinctured with dignity. He remained in the University till 1582, when he took the degree of Master of Arts, and soon after went into South Wales, where he resided in one of his family mansions, and became, says Wotton, so enamoured of a rural life, that it required much persuasion to withdraw him from his retirement.

In 1584 he came at length to Court, introduced and patronized by his father-in-law, Leicester, who was then in the zenith of his power. It had been strongly rumoured that Leicester caused the late Earl's death by poison. He had married the widowed Countess with indecent haste, and perhaps now sought to lessen the suspicion under which he laboured by thus publicly professing his affection for the son. It has been said that Essex was inclined to reject his proffered friendship; we find, however, that in the succeeding year he accompanied Leicester, then appointed Captain-general in the Low Countries, to Holland, where though little more than eighteen years old, he received the commission of General of the Horse. He was distinguished in that campaign by his personal bravery, especially in the battle of Zutphen, and on the twenty-seventh of December, 1587, shortly after his return, was suddenly elevated to the dignified post of Master of the Horse. In the following year, when Elizabeth assembled an army to await at the mouth of the Thames the awful attack threatened by Spain; when superior military skill, to direct the bravery of her troops, was perhaps even more important than

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

the wisdom of her ministers to the support of a crown which was then thought by many to totter on her head; she chose this youth to command her horse, and decorated him with that splendid order of knighthood which she had frequently denied to the best and the noblest of her old servants. Thus far he seemed to common observers to have been borne forward on the wing of Leicester's power, or rather till this period had Elizabeth been able to conceal that extravagant partiality which presently after astonished all Europe, and still remains perhaps the most remarkable paradox in English history.

Leicester died in the autumn of that year, and Essex instantly rose to a measure of favour which that extraordinary man, whose influence over the Queen had been so long envied, never enjoyed. It was unsought by himself. It pursued him. It seemed even to molest him, by interrupting the course of his inclinations, and confining his ardent and independent spirit to spheres of action which, though the amplest that a monarch could offer, were too narrow for its rapid and eccentric range. Even so early as the spring of 1589 he fled, unpermitted, from the Court, and sailed to Portugal with Norris and Drake, a volunteer in the expedition then undertaken for the restoration of Don Antonio to the throne of that kingdom. The degree of anger to which Elizabeth was provoked by this extravagant step, and by his disobedience to a previous summons, may be best inferred from the letter by which she commanded his instant return.

“ Essex,

“ Your sudden and undutiful departure from our presence, and your place of attendance, you may easily conceive how offensive it is, and ought to be, unto us. Our great favours bestowed upon you, without deserts, hath drawn you thus to neglect and forget your duty, for other construction we cannot make of these your strange actions. Not meaning therefore to tolerate this your disordered part, we gave directions to some of our Privy Council, to let you know our express pleasure

EARL OF ESSEX.

for your immediate repair hither, which you have not performed, as your duty doth bind you, increasing thereby greatly your former offence, and undutiful behaviour, in departing in such sort without our privity, having so special offices of attendance and charge near our person. We do therefore charge and command you forthwith upon the receipt of these our letters, all excuses and delay set apart, to make your present and immediate repair unto us, to understand our farther pleasure ; whereof see you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our indignation, and will answer for the contrary at your uttermost peril.

The 15th of April, 1589 "

Essex at length presented himself, and these threats were revoked. He returned not to enquiry and punishment, but to renewed grace. The gallantry with which he had fought in every action during his absence, was thrown by Elizabeth into the scale of his merits, and the counterpoise forgotten. Elizabeth admired brave men ; and yet it has been observed that when, about this time, Essex, in a sudden fit of jealousy of her favour, had affronted Sir Charles Blount, afterwards Lord Montjoy, because he had decorated his person with a jewel which the Queen had given to him, and had been therefore challenged, and wounded in a duel, by that gentleman, she swore, with great seeming wrath, that " unless some one or other should take him down, there would be no ruling him " There can be little doubt that this speech was meant to disguise her real sentiments. Such a favourite as Essex could not have offended a woman of her character by contending for her good graces. His marriage however, which shortly followed these events, did indeed provoke her resentment to the utmost, but here too the same feelings led her to dissemble. She ascribed her anger to the alledged inequality of the match, by which she alledged that the honour of the Earl's house was degraded—degraded by his having married the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and relict of Sir Philip Sidney !

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

In 1591 he was appointed to the command of a force of four thousand troops, sent by Elizabeth to assist Henry the fourth of France in the siege of Rouen. The object of this expedition was wholly disconcerted by the tardy co-operation of the French. Essex however distinguished himself by a chivalrous gallantry in many skirmishes, and, after an absence of some months, returned, highly disgusted because the greatest captain of the age had declined his advice on a military question. He was received with unabated kindness by the Queen, who now admitted him into her Privy Council, but it is at this period, as perhaps might naturally be expected, that historians have dated the commencement of his discontents. His captivating talents, his unbounded liberality, his courtesy, and his courage, had rendered him the idol of all warm and generous hearts ; while the selfish and the needy crowded round him, and loaded him with adulation, in the hope of sharing the fruits of his unbounded influence over Elizabeth. The younger nobility, and the military, looked up to him with mixed motives of affection and interest, and considered him at once their example and their patron, the puritans, now becoming a formidable body, arrogantly claimed his protection as a duty which had devolved on him from his father-in-law, Leicester, who had openly favoured their doctrines and their pretensions ; and the disaffected of other classes courted him with unceasing assiduity, in the view of some time availing themselves of that discord with the Queen or her servants, into which the simplicity of his heart, and the eagerness of his temper, were so likely to betray him. This enormous popularity at length excited in secret the fears of Elizabeth, and increased the jealousy already raised in the breasts of her ministers by the favours that she had bestowed on him. She sought to avert her danger by furnishing incessant employment to his activity and love of glory, and they laboured to drive him to desperation by schemes to render his services abortive.

These passions were beginning to operate when, in June 1596,

EARL OF ESSEX.

he undertook, jointly with the High Admiral Howard, the command of the expedition to Cadiz. The particulars of this, and of his excursions in the succeeding year, are so largely given by our historians that it would be impertinent to repeat them here. It is worthy however of observation that in the former his opinion was always uniformly rejected, save only as to the proper moment for attacking the Spanish Fleet in the harbour, the Admiral's concession to which was so joyfully received by him, that, in an extacy, he threw his hat into the sea. The Island voyage, as it was called, of 1597, in which he acted as commander in chief both of the army and fleet, was unhappily distinguished by his differences with Raleigh, who served as Rear Admiral, the origin and circumstances of which have been variously and even contradictorily represented by different writers; and yet, amidst this confusion, strong grounds appear to suspect Raleigh of a pre-meditated design to prevent the success of the enterprise. Essex, on his arrival from Cadiz, had been better received by the Queen than by her ministers, whom he found inclined to censure every part of his conduct in the expedition. He published therefore a narrative of it, more remarkable for sincerity than prudence, in which, as has been well observed, "he set down whatever was omitted in the prosecution of it, and then, by way of answer to those objections, imputed all miscarriages to other men; by which he raised to himself many implacable enemies, and did not gain one friend." In the mean time his attempts to use his influence for the service of his friends, which indeed seems to have been the end to which he wished always to apply it, were constantly thwarted. He was now deeply mortified, and Elizabeth, who seems to have shared in his chagrin, endeavoured to console him by a gift for life of the post of Master of the Ordnance, to which, he was appointed on the nineteenth of March, 1597. New causes, however, of dissatisfaction arose. During his absence on the Island voyage the Admiral, Howard, had been created Earl of Nottingham, and in his patent the reduction of Cadiz was

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ROBERT DEVEREUX,

ascribed to his good service. This affront, as Essex, and perhaps rightly conceived it, together with his vexation at the moderate success of that expedition, produced in him a disgust which became publicly visible. On his return, he retired to the country, and, according to the fashion of that time, pleaded illness to excuse his attendance in Parliament, which was then sitting. Elizabeth again interfered to appease him, and on the twenty-eighth of December, 1597, raised him to the splendid office of Earl Marshal of England.

His services, or rather his endeavours to serve, were now transferred to the Council, and he appeared in the character of a statesman, for which he possessed every qualification but patience. Here he opposed with equal vehemence and good argument the proposals offered in May, 1598, for a treaty of amity with Spain. On this great topic he engaged in disputes with the Treasurer, Burghley, which rose to such warmth that Burghley, at the council table, drew a prayer book from his bosom, and prophetically pointed out to the Earl this passage—"Men of blood shall not live out half their days" Peace was determined on; and Essex, in his dread of being misrepresented, to the abatement of that popularity his affection to which was his greatest fault and misfortune, immediately composed his "Apology against those which falsely and maliciously take him to be the only hindrance of the peace and quiet of their country, addressed to his friend Anthony Bacon." This exquisite example of his talents and integrity, as well as of the purity and elegance of his style, infinitely valuable too as it exhibits a sketch by his own hand of the circumstances of his public conduct to that period, was soon after printed, doubtless at least with his concurrence, to the great offence of the Queen. Burghley, his ancient guardian, whose power had in some measure waded off the attacks of his enemies, and to the wisdom and kindness of whose advice his impetuosity had frequently submitted, died while Essex was preparing his Apology, and he fell into new errors and excesses. Among these

EARL OF ESSEX.

the most remarkable occurred in his memorable and well-known quarrel with Elizabeth on the choice of a Governor for Ireland, which terminated on his part with the grossest personal insult ever offered by a subject to a sovereign, and on hers by manual chastisement. He fled to hide his rage in the most obscure retirement, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could be prevailed on to acknowledge his fault. The wise and worthy Lord Keeper Egerton, in addressing to him a long letter of gentle remonstrance, uses these persuasions—"If you still hold this course, which hitherto you find to be worse and worse, (and the longer you go the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the end will be better. You are not yet gone so far but that you may well return. The return is safe, but the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves; your friends you leave to scorn and contempt. You forsake yourself, and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You give that comfort and courage to the foreign enemies as greater they cannot have; for what can be more welcome and pleasing news than to hear that her Majesty and the realm are maimed of so worthy a member who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your country when it hath most need of your counsel and aid; and, lastly, you fail in your indissoluble duty which you owe unto your most gracious Sovereign; a duty imposed on you, not by nature and policy only, but by the religious and sacred bond wherein the Divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you."

Essex's reply presents perhaps the truest picture extant not only of his natural but of his political character, of the grandeur of his mind, and of the tyranny of his passions, of his habitual loyalty, and his republican inclinations. In this admirable letter we find the following vivacious expressions of defiance—"When the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

force me to sue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot Princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my lord; I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken. Let those that mean to make their profit of Princes shew to have no sense of Princes' injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth that do not believe an infinite absoluteness in heaven. As for me, I have perceived wrong, I feel it. My cause is good; I know it: and, whatsoever comes, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength or constancy in oppressing than I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed on me" He was at length persuaded to make a proud submission, and was again received to Elizabeth's favour, which seemed even yet to have been but little impaired.

The affairs of Ireland appear indeed to have been at that time Essex's favourite political study. He had frequently, in the debates of the council, complained of an unreasonable parsimony with which he charged the Ministers in the government of that country, and of restrictions by which they had long fettered the culties of the Queen's Deputies. His enemies determined to avail themselves of this disposition, and to tempt him by an offer of that important and honourable post, with unusually enlarged authority, and the command of a more numerous army than had ever been sent thither. To conquer rebellious factions; to civilize people at once barbarous and generous, to administer strict justice through the means of absolute power; were noble objects in the view of one whose character united with a haughty and courageous spirit the mildest humanity, and the most exalted moral principles. Prudence too, if he ever used it, now perhaps reminded him that anger is best cooled by absence, and that past errors are frequently forgotten in the grateful sense of new services. He accepted the office however with reluctance and disgust, unless we are to consider the following exquisite little

EARL OF ESSEX.

epistle to Elizabeth, which is said, I know not on what ground, to have been written between the dates of his appointment and his departure, merely as a general appeal to her feelings, and a strong effort to regain the fulness of her favour, for which he made his commission to Ireland the pretext.

“ From a mind delighting in sorrow ; from spirits wasted with passion ; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel ; from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive ; what service can your Majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands ? It is your rebels’ pride and success must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison , out of my loathed body ; which, if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no cause to dislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.”

“ Happy he could finish forth his fate
In some unhaunted desart, most obscure
From all society, from love and hate
Of worldly folk , then should he sleep secure ,
Then wake again, and yield God ever praise ,
Content with hips, and haws, and brambleberry,
In contemplation passing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts, to make him merry
Who when he dies his tomb may be a bush,
Where harmless Robin dwells with gentle Thrush ”

Your Majesty’s exiled servant,

ROBERT ESSEX ”

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1599, he left London, on his way towards Ireland, to the great joy of those who had thus freed themselves of his unwelcome presence to place him amidst perils which they well knew how to increase. Their efforts however were needless. The short term of his government was a tissue of imprudence, confusion, and misfortune. He passed the first

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

two months in making journeys of observation, and plans for action, and laid the fruits of those labours before the Queen at large in a letter of consummate ability. Elizabeth slighted his opinions, and blamed his conduct in the very first military enterprise which he undertook. During the irritation produced by these crosses, a large body of his troops was worsted by the Irish, and he punished the remainder of the detachment, contrary to his nature, with a frightful severity. He undertook an unsuccessful expedition contrary to the Queen's express order to march his army into another province, and afterwards, in obeying that order, was yet more unfortunate. He demanded reinforcements, and obtained them; marched in person, at the head of his main army, to attack the rebels, under the command of Tir-oen; and, without striking a blow, concluded a disgraceful treaty with that chieftain. His incessant reflection at that period on the designs of his enemies in England seems to have been either the cause or the consequence of a degree of actual insanity which never after left him. He formed a serious resolution to return with his army, and to employ it in subduing them, and it was with much difficulty that some of his dearest friends succeeded in dissuading him from that monstrous attempt. Shortly after, on receiving a reproachful letter from the Queen, he suddenly quitted Ireland, almost alone, and, travelling with the utmost speed, appeared most unexpectedly in her presence at Nonsuch on the twenty-eighth of September, 1599, and implored her to listen to his apology.

Elizabeth was touched by the singular character of this appeal, which once more excited in some degree her tenderness, while it flattered her pride. Essex, once so beloved; whose disobedience she had threatened with condign punishment; whose rebellious resistance she had been taught to anticipate; instead of persisting in his contumacy; or standing aloof to treat for pardon, or employing friends to intercede on his behalf; had fled from an army which adored him, and crossed the sea, to throw himself

EARL OF ESSEX.

singly on her mercy and her wisdom. She received him with complacency, and admitted him to a long conference, in the conclusion of which she commanded him not to quit his apartment in the Court, and soon after committed him to an honourable, though close, confinement in the house of the Lord Keeper. It is more than probable that, had matters been left wholly to her undisturbed decision, he might even now have escaped with very light penalties, but another powerful passion had been awakened in her breast, and, terrified at the representations which were every hour laid before her of the dangers to be apprehended from his popularity and his violence, she consented at length to leave his case to the Privy Council, before which it had been somewhat agitated immediately after his arrival. He had remained long a prisoner, still occasionally encouraged, and with Elizabeth's connivance, to hope that no more was intended than to humble his spirit, and that he might be again restored to her grace; till, on the fifth of June, 1600, he was brought publicly before the Council, and, after an examination of eleven hours, for the most part of which he was kept kneeling, it was determined that he should be deprived of his seat in that body, and of all his offices, except that of Master of the Horse, and should remain in custody during the Queen's pleasure. He was finally enlarged on the twenty-seventh of the following August, and retired to one of his seats in the country.

The die was now cast. Essex considered his situation to be desperate, and that conceit effectually rendered it so. In the beginning of the winter he returned to London, and his house became not only the resort but the residence of the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected, of all ranks. Cuffe, who had been his secretary in Ireland, a man of considerable talents, rendered useless, or worse, like his own, by an impetuous temper, undertook to execute his plans, if they deserved to be so called. Few circumstances of our history are better known than those which compose the sad sequel of Essex's story. He seems to have

conceived the extravagant, and indeed utterly impracticable, design of working simultaneously on the affection and the fears of Elizabeth. Declaring his profound loyalty, and the most earnest personal regard, he armed his little band professedly to force her to hear his grievances, and to dismiss her servants. Terrified perhaps, but still interested in his favour, instead of employing the ample means to reduce him which were in her power, she ordered that he should be summoned before her Council, and he disobeyed. The next morning she sent the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chief Justice, and others of the Council, to his house, to receive his complaints, and he imprisoned them. He then sallied forth, at the head of his adherents, and sought ineffectually for volunteers in the city, returned by the river, and fortified his house; and, when no means remained to save him from the perdition to which he seemed to have devoted himself, was at length proclaimed a traitor, besieged, and taken prisoner. These strange circumstances occurred on the seventh and eighth of February, 1601, N S. and on the nineteenth he was brought to his trial before the Peers, and condemned to die. Of his treason there could be no doubt, for it had been committed in the sight of thousands, but for his motives, saving the simple impulses of a most fiery and imprudent spirit, we can look only to his own declaration, that his first object was to gain access to the Queen's person, and his final view, to the establishment of the succession in the King of Scots, for the charge preferred against him of a secret design to set up a claim to the Crown on his own part, in right of a remote maternal descent from the House of York, is utterly incredible. The Queen, was anxious to the last to spare his life. Of the well known, but weakly authenticated, tale of the Countess of Nottingham, and the ring, with which many writers have been fond of amplifying the last scene of this tragedy, I will say nothing; we have otherwise sufficient proof that Elizabeth at length gave way to the importunities of her ministers with the utmost reluctance, and signed the warrant for

EARL OF ESSEX.

his execution amidst a dreadful conflict of tenderness, resentment, and terror. He suffered death on the sixth day after his trial with a piety not less modest than fervid, and a magnanimity at once calm and heroic.

Of all eminent historical characters that of Essex has generally been deemed the most difficult to be justly estimated. Rare and singular indeed was its construction, but surely not mysterious. The faults of those who deserve to be called good and great usually spring from an exuberance of fine qualities. All the errors of this extraordinary person may be traced to the warmth of his heart, or the noble simplicity of his mind; to his courage, to his friendships, to his exact sense of honour, or his exalted love of truth. With these virtues, joined to admirable talents, he was perhaps the most unfit man living to be trusted with the direction of important affairs, either civil or military, for his candour disqualified him for the cabinet, and his rashness for the field. He weighed the purity of his intentions against the motives of other public servants with accuracy and justice, and the disdain with which he proclaimed the result rendered them his mortal enemies; but he rated his services, and perhaps his powers, too highly; and hence his frequent quarrels with Elizabeth, the enormous extent of whose favour and bounty he seems never to have considered as commensurate to his deserts: His occasional insolence to that Princess was therefore the issue of pride, and not of ingratitude. His resentments were marked by a petulance somewhat inconsistent with genuine dignity, and his friendships were not always worthily placed, but he was not capricious, for his affections and his aversions were unalterable, and he was incapable of disguising either sentiment: in following the dictates of the one, his liberality knew no bounds: in the gratification of the other, his generosity was never sullied by a single instance of private revenge. His domestic conduct seems to have been unexceptionable: In his hours of retirement his impetuosity was soothed by the consolations of sincere piety, and conscious

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

innocence ; by the love of his family, and his dependants, who idolized him ; by the temperate charms of refined conversation and reflection. In the humble sincerity of his dying confession he had no moral offences to avow but certain amorous frailties of his youth.

His understanding was of the sort which usually accompanies acute feelings ; quick, penetrating, and versatile ; admirable in its conceptions, but of uncertain execution ; sometimes approaching, sometimes out-reaching, but seldom resting at, that sober and wary point of judgment which in worldly affairs is dignified by the title of wisdom. His acquirements were infinitely varied and extended. It will appear on an examination of those of his writings which have been fortunately left to us that his studies, or rather his perceptions, had embraced every usual object of human science. His powers of expression were equal to the measure of his knowledge : indeed he was incomparably the first English prose writer of his time, and it has been lately discovered that in Latin composition he fell nothing short of the best classical models. The present age too, busy in such researches, has brought to light several poems, of various characters, which reflect a new and unexpected lustre on his genius. Such was the man, and so designed by nature to inform, to improve, and to delight, society, whom his own ambition, and Elizabeth's folly, misplaced in the characters of a statesman, a general, and a courtier.

On the extravagance of the Queen's attachment to this nobleman, and the motives by which it was dictated, it is unnecessary here to dilate. Lord Orford, in his " Royal and noble Authors," has treated at large of those matters, with such acuteness of reasoning, and such extent of historical knowledge, that any further endeavour to elucidate that singular subject would be vain and presumptuous. I shall therefore only add that the Earl of Essex married, as has been before stated, Frances, daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip

EARL OF ESSEX.

Sidney, by whom he had an only son, Robert, who was the last Earl of the family of Devereux; and two daughters; Frances, married to William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset; and Dorothy, wife, first to Sir Henry Shirley, of Stanton Harold, in Leicestershire, Bart., secondly, to William Stafford, of Blatherwick, in the county of Northampton.

PORTRAITS
OF
Illustrious Personages
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM
AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY
AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY
EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

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CONTENTS TO VOLUME IV.

1. QUEEN ELIZABETH, - - ZUCCHERO. 1603
*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of
Salisbury, at Hatfield*

2. JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON,
MARK GERARD. 1604
*From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at
Hamilton Palace.*

3. GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, - 1605
From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

4. CHARLES BLOUNT, BARON MONTJOY AND EARL
OF DEVONSHIRE, - - PANTOXA. 1606
*From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at
Hamilton Palace.*

5. THOMAS SACKVILLE, EARL OF DORSET, - 1608
*From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at
Knole.*

6. SIR THOMAS BODLEY, - - - JANSSEN. 1612
From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

7. ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY. ZUCCHERO. 1612
*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of
Salisbury, at Hatfield House.*

8. HENRY PRINCE OF WALES, - - MYTENS. 1612
*From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at
Knole*

9. HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON,
ZUCCHERO. 1614
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of
Carlisle, at Castle Howard.*

10. LADY ARABELLA STUART, - - - VAN SOMER. 1615
*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of
Bath, at Longleat*

11. THOMAS EGERTON, VISCOUNT BRACKLEY, - 1617
*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford,
at Cleveland House.*
12. SIR WALTER RALEIGH, - - ZUCCHERO. 1618
*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath,
at Longleat.*
13. MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE, GERARD. 1621
*From the Collection of Sir John Shelley Sidney, Bart. at
Penshurst.*
14. THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF EXETER, JANSEN. 1621
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Marquis of
Exeter, at Bunleigh House.*
- 15 HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON,
MIREVELT. 1624
*From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at
Woburn Abbey.*
- 16 JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, VAN SOMER. 1624
*From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at
Hamilton Palace*
17. CHARLES HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, EARL OF
NOTTINGHAM, - - - - 1624
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of
Verulam, at Gorhambury.*
18. LODOWICK STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND,
VAN SOMER. 1624
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of
Egremont, at Petworth.*
19. FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST ALBAN, VAN SOMER. 1626
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of
Verulam, at Gorhambury.*
20. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SUFFOLK. ZUCCHERO. 1626
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of
Carlisle, at Castle Howard.*



Engraved by W T Fry

QUEEN ELIZABETH

OB 1603

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE MOST NOBIL THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

IT has been an inveterate fashion to place this Princess in the class of wise monarchs. Whether this has been founded on an impartial and judicious examination of her character, or on the report of certain great authorities, to whose sincerity as well as judgement a ready credit has been given, may be, however, fairly questioned. Henry the fourth of France, who, it should be recollected, anxiously sought her friendship, professed a high respect for her talents, and took care to make it known to her; and the acute but eccentric Sixtus the fifth regretted that his vow of celibacy excluded him from the possibility of an union with her, the issue of which he said would have been naturally qualified to govern the world. Another great person, of equal fame with these, and I think of equal rank, answered to one who was inclined to depreciate the powers of her mind, and to ascribe the success and glory of her reign to the sagacity of her counselors, by asking “whether he ever heard of a weak Prince who chose wise ministers?” a remark, by the way, not very applicable to her, who had but the negative merit of retaining in office those who had been chosen by her father and brother. A few such testimonies and smart sayings from such sources would be at all times sufficient to fix the opinions of those who read history for amusement, that is to say of nearly the whole of mankind. It may seem bold to declare that the history of Elizabeth’s reign furnishes no substantial evidence that she possessed remarkable talents, either solid or brilliant. She had however violent passions, and the sudden bursts of these will frequently be mistaken by the multitude for proofs of exalted talent. Her’s were all of the unamiable order, but their baleful effects were generally neutralized by counteraction on each other. Thus it was her timidity

that prevented her from emulating the horrible tyranny of her father, and her pride that saved her from the disgrace of open profligacy. We seek in vain through the whole of her life for instances of generosity, benevolence, or gratitude, those bright jewels of a crown which Princes to whom nature has denied them have generally been prudent enough to counterfeit — But we must hasten to our brief compilation, and leave these few remarks to the censure which may await them. They will not be popular, but it will be difficult to contradict them.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the eighth and Anne Bullen, was born at Greenwich on the seventh of September, 1533. The frantic despotism of her father surrounded her very cradle with terrors, and planted with thorns her path to womanhood. The imperfect divorce of Catherine of Arragon, and the vote of a servile Parliament, had invested her with a factitious and doubtful right to the inheritance of the crown, of which the speedily succeeding alledged infidelity and attainder of her mother, followed by another specific act of the same body, legally deprived her. Mary, her paternal sister, was living, with pretensions which, although they had been in a great measure similarly annulled, furnished ample ground for discord and competition. The birth of a Prince, afterwards Edward the sixth, as it seemed to settle, though to their mutual prejudice, the succession to the Throne, gave them a chance of safety; but Henry and his obedient Parliament, soon after that event replaced them in the order of inheritance, and he specially recognised their right in his will. These dispositions however, powerful as they may seem, were insufficient to remove the prejudices which had arisen out of the confusion that he had previously created, and the premature death of Edward produced a jealousy between the sisters in which Elizabeth, though too young to appear an active party, was old enough to become an object of persecution.

She had been placed after the decease of her father under the care and in the mansion of his widow, Catherine Par, who

presently, with unbecoming haste, took the Lord Admiral Seymour, brother to the Protector Duke of Somerset, for her fourth husband. The extravagant ambition of this nobleman undoubtedly suggested to him the idea of gaining Elizabeth's hand, and the means through which he endeavoured to accomplish his purpose were such as might have been expected from his impetuous and unprincipled character. He sought by the baseness of personal seduction to gain that absolute controul over her mind with which her fears of discovery, or her affection, or both, could scarcely have failed to invest him. Of his success in this detestable part of his plan we are of course ignorant, but it appears that Elizabeth regarded him at least with complacency. The singular circumstances of their intercourse were at length made known to Edward's ministers; the young Princess was hastily removed; and a careful inquiry was instituted, many curious documents relative to which are preserved in Haynes's fine collection of Cecil Papers.

The uncertainties and vicissitudes of her youth had not interrupted the regularity of her education. Her surprising facility in the acquisition of languages is commemorated in terms even of rapture in the Latin epistles of her tutor, Ascham. This faculty, and her regular profession of the reformed faith, increased the favour which the tender nature of her brother, the admirable Edward, had always extended to her, and they seem to have been much together after she left the Queen Dowager, and are said to have derived mutual improvement from the joint prosecution of their studies. Edward however was prevailed on, in the feebleness of his last hours, to dispose of the crown to the exclusion of both the Princesses, and in the short contest, if it deserve that name, between Mary and Jane Grey, we are told that Elizabeth raised, we are not informed how, nor is it easy to conceive, a thousand horse for the aid of her sister's cause. She was received therefore with distinction and smiles at the new court; but a secret jealousy lurked in the bosom of Mary. She saw in

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth a rival, not only in regal claim, but in love, for the Queen had certainly meditated to marry the unfortunate Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who on his part was enamoured, with what return we know not, of her sister. The first act of Mary's first parliament, by deerecing the validity of the marriage of her father and mother, and annulling the sentence of their divorce, virtually reduced Elizabeth again to the condition of a bastard; and that she might have no room to doubt that such was the Queen's interpretation of it, she was presently after placed in the court ceremonial beneath the descendants of her father's sisters. This proof of Mary's aversion was followed by numerous slights and affronts, which at length becoming intolerable, Elizabeth obtained permission to retire into the country, where however she is said to have been closely watched by two trusty servants of the Crown, whom she had been obliged to accept as principal officers of her household. But the tranquillity of her retreat was of short duration. She was accused, certainly with little probability, of having been privy to Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection; was recalled to the Court when in a state of severe illness, strictly examined by the Council, and, after several days, permitted to return, again seized on some new suspicions, and conducted to Hampton Court as a state prisoner, and from thence to close confinement in the Tower of London.

It is remarkable that at this seemingly hopeless period two bills brought into Parliament by her bitter enemy, Bishop Gardiner, the one expressly declaring her illegitimacy, and incapacity to inherit the Crown, the other to enable the Queen to appoint her successor, should have been rejected by large majorities. Mary became alarmed at this unexpected opposition to her will in so important a quarter; the rigour of the Princess's imprisonment was presently abated, and she was soon after conducted to the palace of Richmond, where she was offered her liberty if she would accept the hand of the Duke of Savoy. It is probable that to this condition was annexed some proposal

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

tending to an abandonment of her claim to the English Crown; for she refused it with a magnanimous perseverance. She was now transferred to Woodstock, and again confined with some severity, and thus she remained till the marriage of her sister to Philip of Spain, when that Prince, among other endeavours to gain popularity with his new subjects, procured her release, at least from the rigours of her captivity, but she was yet watched with the closest attention. The resentment and jealousy of the Queen however gradually abated, and the humility of Elizabeth's concessions kept pace with the increase of her sister's complaisance. When she was at length admitted to personal intercourse and intimacy, she attended all the high ceremonies of the Romish Church with seeming devotion, and even partook of the sacrament of the altar. The mutual indifference, or rather aversion, of the King and Queen towards each other, which soon after occurred, operated in her favour. Philip, lately her apparent friend, from some political views regarding his continental interests now reiterated with vehemence the suit of the Duke of Savoy, and Mary, whose favourite measure it had lately been, as earnestly supported Elizabeth in the rejection of it. The Princess presently returned this service by refusing the hand of the heir-apparent to the Crown of Sweden, on the alledged ground of the indignity which the King, his father, had offered to Mary by directing his ambassador to propose it in the first instance to herself. The carriage of the sisters towards each other was assuming the appearance of affection, when the Queen died, on the seventeenth of November, 1558.

Elizabeth mounted the Throne amid an extravagance of approbation, flowing from the revived hopes of a people who had been long strangers to the regular protection of laws, and slaves to so many varieties of despotism, civil and religious. They were not disappointed. The first act of her prerogative laid the ground for all her succeeding credit, and fixed the character of her long reign. It was the appointment of William Cecil to the office of

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Secretary of State, and in effect to that of Prime Minister. That great and good man had been, from the purest motives, her secret correspondent and adviser during the long season of oppression and difficulty through which she had laboured. The strict seclusion in which she had lived, even from her infancy, had rendered her a stranger to all other statesmen, and, without meaning to deny that a sense of obligation to him had its due share in influencing her choice, it may be said that she fell as it were naturally into his hands. He formed her ministry, and presided in it with unparalleled honesty and disinterestedness, and with the rarest combination of wisdom, fortitude, and good temper, that history can produce in the conduct of a public man. The constant activity of these admirable qualities for years averted from his mistress and from the realm the dangers with which her foibles threatened both. From the hour of his appointment those exertions became necessary, for it was almost in the same hour that she chose for her favourite that monster of ambition and profligacy, Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. It would perhaps be too much to ascribe wholly to that unworthy partiality the resolution which she professed already to have taken against matrimony, for it was to her first Parliament, as soon as it had assembled, that she expressed it. Her brother-in-law Philip of Spain, Eric, King of Sweden, and the Archduke Charles of Austria, made their addresses, and were refused accordingly. A few too of the highest of her subjects entertained distant hopes of being chosen by her, and others of them have been mentioned to whom perhaps the thought never occurred. That Dudley however aspired to her hand, and with a boldness unknown to the rest, is certain; and that, to ensure at least the possibility of obtaining it, he connived at the murder of his wife is scarcely doubtful.

Elizabeth's jealousy of the Queen of Scots commenced with the accession of the one to the English throne, and of the other, as Queen consort, to that of France, events nearly simultaneous. The importance that Scotland had derived from the French

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

marriage, which had made it in effect a colony of France, was justly dreaded, and no time was lost in demonstrating the vigilance which it seemed to demand. A fleet sailed to the Frith of Forth, and a powerful army was marched to the borders, and the Regent, Mary of Guise, already perplexed by the insurrectionary spirit of the infant kirk, submitted by the treaty of Edinburgh to terms highly advantageous to the interest of England. In the political effects of the reformation in Scotland, and indeed elsewhere, Elizabeth found a useful lesson for her own conduct at home. Unincumbered by conscientious scruples and niceties of faith, she determined to reject, in pursuing the separation from the church of Rome, every novelty in which the most remote tendency might be traced towards the abridgement of temporal dominion. The dismissal of those splendid ceremonies, and ardent forms of worship, which biassed the judgment by captivating the imagination, was wrested from her with difficulty by her ministers and prelates. She would indeed willingly have retained the whole of the Catholic system, except its dependence on the see of Rome, but it was impracticable. Recent events had prejudiced against it a vast majority of the nation, and the final establishment of the Anglican Church was more indebted to the headstrong and cruel violence of Mary than to the wisdom, the beneficence, or the piety, of her sister. To Elizabeth however, be her motives what they might, it owes its escape from the baseness of Calvinism.

The death of Francis the second of France, in the winter of 1560, before he could be said to have reached manhood, was the signal for that well-known breach between Elizabeth and his lovely relict, which terminated in the tragical death of the one, and the endless disgrace of the other. Mary's influence in France had expired with her husband, and she returned to Scotland with regret, though to assume an independent crown. Before her departure from Paris she had been pressed by the English ambassador to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, which was

rendered peculiarly odious to her by a stipulation for her abandonment of the royal title and arms of England, her habit of quartering which had been always sternly and most reasonably resisted by Elizabeth. She evaded the demand by various pretences, and Elizabeth in return refused her request of a safe conduct for her voyage, which she, on her part, resented by a message full of anger and disdain. From this period a bitter enmity, at first rather the result of ordinary passion than of political discord, commenced between them, and was gradually aggravated by mutual injuries and affronts till it produced the purest reciprocal hatred. That Mary however cherished, or rather was persuaded to entertain, a hope that she might effectually dispute Elizabeth's right to a throne to which herself was presumptive heir is certain. The incessant instances of her father-in-law, Henry the second, of the haughty family of Lorraine, and at length of Spain, had raised an inclination in her mind to which the measure of her own ambition would have been perhaps incompetent. Philip, who had gladly coalesced with Elizabeth to counterbalance the weight of France, now, on its removal from the scale, espoused the party of Mary. He was justly esteemed the temporal head of the Catholics throughout Europe, and with little difficulty excited in those of England an aversion to their Queen, and a proportionate affection to her rival. Thus Elizabeth became compelled to use those measures of severity against the Catholics which distinguished her reign, while she felt secretly inclined towards them, and to countenance, or rather to endure, the Calvinists, or Puritans, as they were here called, whom she detested. To those of Scotland, now in open rebellion, she secretly extended every favour that her own interests, or her anger against Mary, could suggest. The influence of these circumstances, and of the policy founded on them, may be discerned in almost all the important features of more than thirty years of her reign.

The two Queens however soon found it necessary to dissemble

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

They assumed a dignified decency of conduct towards each other, and entered into negotiations. Mary offered to make the clearest acknowledgement of Elizabeth's present title to the throne, on condition of receiving a recognition of her own right to the succession, which was refused, and the mutual disappointment, though it increased the obstinacy of each, was borne by each with a well affected patience. Elizabeth's denial arose not more from her enmity to the Queen of Scots than from her general aversion to all, however distant, who might in possibility inherit the throne. She seemed desirous even to extinguish the royal race; and of this almost insane foible the long and horrible persecution, which she commenced about this time, of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine Grey, for their marriage, affords one remarkable instance.

In consonance with the new policy which Elizabeth had unwillingly adopted, she took up with vigour the cause of the Protestants, who were in arms in France, and, after some ineffectual negotiation in their favour with Charles the ninth, or rather with his mother, Catherine de Medicis, sent a strong force, and from time to time large supplies of money, into Normandy to aid their General, the Prince of Condé, from whom she received in return the possession of Havre de Grace, which she resolved to keep as an equivalent for Calais. This however, and all other objects of the plan, were within a few months defeated by the sudden submission of the Protestant leaders to the Crown. The large disbursements required by these purposes obliged her, early in 1563, to summon her second Parliament, which, like its predecessor, commenced its proceedings by beseeching her to marry, and was answered ambiguously. The Queen of Scots, in the mean time, encouraged the proposals which she was continually receiving through her uncles, the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, for a second marriage, an event which Elizabeth contemplated with terror, not only for the strong probability of its increasing the line of inheritors of the English Crown, but for the power which

Mary could not but at once acquire by a matrimonial alliance with one of the great royal Houses of Europe To endeavour to prevent the one was hopeless, but she sought to avoid the danger of the other by at length proposing to acknowledge implicitly Mary's right to succeed to the throne of England, on the condition that she should take a husband from among the English nobility. The Queen of Scots received the motion with affected complacency, and, after long hesitation, Elizabeth availed herself of the opportunity of dissembling her own passion for him by naming Leicester, whom she knew would be in the end rejected, while Mary, with equal artifice, concealed the indignation with which so unworthy an offer justly inspired her.

Elizabeth's main purposes were however answered for the time. By this negotiation, and others equally extravagant, she prevented Mary for nearly two years from hearkening to any becoming proposals of marriage, and postponed any definitive answer on the grand question of the succession. Mary's patience was at length subdued. She dispatched a letter to Elizabeth in terms so wrathful that her ministers, dreading lest their private quarrel might produce a breach between the two countries, prevailed on her to conciliate, and for that purpose Sir James Melvil was sent to the English court Those who would contemplate the utmost extravagance of female vanity, envy, and folly, may find it in that minister's memoirs, in his recitals of Elizabeth's conversations with him. She now recommended Darnley for Mary's hand, and sent him to her court, and privately intreated her to restore the honours and estates of his father, the Earl of Lennox, who laboured under an attainder. Mary was at once captivated by his fine person, and made preparations for the marriage, when Elizabeth dispatched an order for Darnley's instant return, imprisoned his mother and brother in the Tower, and seized his father's English estates, and even in this miserable faithlessness and caprice some historians have affected to discern a profound policy. Mary, impelled by various passions, now hastened her nuptials

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

with the catholic Darnley amidst the outcries of the reformers, whose leaders Elizabeth, after having seized the opportunity to incite to an unsuccessful rebellion, loaded with reproaches for their treason, and spurned from her presence, when they fled to her Court from the vengeance of their mistress. The strange and horrible circumstances which followed this marriage in rapid succession are so well known that to do more than name them here would seem scornful of historical recollection. Mary's partiality to Rizzio, and his assassination, the murder of Darnley; her detestable union with Bothwell, the league against her of her chief nobility, and their subsequent capture of her person; her imprisonment, escape, and fatal flight into England; all occurred within little more than two years. In the midst of these distractions, to Elizabeth's infinite chagrin, Mary brought forth her only child, afterwards our James the first.

The conduct adopted by Elizabeth towards Scotland and its miserable monarch during this momentous crisis was wholly unexpected. She who had been the bitterest foe to Mary when her youth, beauty, innocence, and power, made her the favourite of Europe, now, when worn with care, stripped of dominion, and more than suspected of horrible crimes, suddenly adopted her cause, offered her every aid, and threatened her enemies with summary vengeance. Those who in seeking for refined political causes so frequently overlook obvious motives have ascribed this anomaly to an insidious design to tempt Mary to the step which she afterwards unhappily took, while others who judged under the honest dictates of natural feeling, aiming as much beneath the mark, have placed it to the account of pity and generosity, virtues equally strangers to Elizabeth's breast. The truth is that her dread of an example of rebellion in a land divided only by an imaginary line from her own exceeded her hatred to Mary, and that the circumstances of the time prevented her from maintaining a posture of neutrality between that Princess and her insurgent subjects. Mary, however, confided in the sincerity of

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

her professions ; unexpectedly fled to her for protection ; and found herself a prisoner ; and in the mean time her infant son was declared King of Scotland. It became necessary for Elizabeth to decide as suddenly on the part that she was now to act, and her determination involved questions of high policy ; her ministers therefore were obliged to share with her in the iniquities which followed. She commenced them by assuming a jurisdiction wholly illegitimate. Mary was induced, partly by the necessity of her critical situation, and partly by a promise that the leaders of the party which had deposed her should be called on for a justification of that act, to submit to the judgement of Elizabeth not only the trial of such their conduct, but also the awful question of her own respecting the murder of Darnley. Commissioners were forthwith appointed for the cognizance of these great causes, and the rebel Lords were cited to London , not, as it presently appeared, to apologize for their delinquencies, but to assume the characters of prosecutors or witnesses against their captive Sovereign. By a series of the most profound artifices the Regent Murray was induced to give the fullest proof of Mary's guilt by the production of her letters to Bothwell, and she was instantly placed in that close confinement from which a violent death released her at the end of nineteen years.

If Elizabeth sought security or tranquillity in the prosecution of these unwarrantable measures she was indeed sorely disappointed. Even while they were in progress the Duke of Norfolk formed a design to marry the Queen of Scots ; imparted it in confidence to several of the nobility of both nations, and was betrayed by Leicester , was excused for the time, and three years after, having reiterated his scheme, with aggravated circumstances, was put to death. In the mean time a hasty and ill concerted insurrection, professing for its object the restoration of the ancient faith, and headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, broke forth in the North, the suppression of which was speedily followed by another yet more imprudent.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Mary, from the first hour of her unjust restraint, became the head of the English Catholics by their tacit and unpremeditated consent, while she, in like manner, beheld in them her only efficient friends. Under the influence of a temper naturally sanguine, she seems to have been ever ready to suggest, or to adopt, any plan, however visionary, by which she might possibly regain her liberty, and replace herself on a throne which she had disgraced, and environed with difficulty and danger. Elizabeth, on her part, equally dreading to restore, on any terms, an enemy whom she had offended beyond all hope of reconciliation, or to make common cause with rebellious subjects, amused each party with professions never to be verified, and with treaties instituted but to be broken up without effect. Amidst all these causes for just alarm, Pius the fifth in 1571 excommunicated her in due form, and by the same Bull declared her title to the Crown wholly void, and absolved her subjects of their oath of allegiance.

The consolation which she derived from the reformers was very inadequate to this accumulation of evils. She flattered them on all occasions with expressions of more than maternal tenderness, and received in return the most abject professions of devotion, or rather worship, but they who had overthrown the ancient Church were of course not long before they turned their attention to the correction of the State. A freedom of speech hitherto unknown began to distinguish the House of Commons; privileges were sometimes talked of there, and her prerogatives were not unfrequently questioned. As the heat of her temper ebbed and flowed, she sometimes blustered, and sometimes conceded, and occasionally, which was the worst of all, retracted her specific threats in the very hour in which she had uttered them. The die however was cast, and she had assumed the character of patroness of the Protestant persuasion throughout Europe. To maintain that reputation, she again succoured about this period the Huguenots, as they were called, now in formidable array against Charles the ninth, but was induced to withdraw her aid by insidious propo-

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

sals from that Prince, and to endure with a sullen patience even that consummation of wickedness, the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At this very period she undertook the friendly office of sponsor to his infant daughter, and listened with an affected complacency to another, but still fruitless offer of the hand of the Duke of Alençon, whom, as well as his elder brother, the Duke of Anjou, soon after Henry the third, she had formerly rejected. The public anxiety regarding the succession to the Crown, repeatedly expressed by her Parliaments, prevented the unpopularity which her seeming apathy towards the Protestant cause might have provoked, while her utter aversion to their remonstrances on the subject of marriage tempted her as frequently to amuse them by engaging in negotiations to that effect, always insincere.

The death of Charles, and the formation, by the talents and boldness of the family of Guise, of the League, altered most of these relations. Philip, from whose interest she had hoped to detach France, now openly declared himself protector of that celebrated combination, and avowed with more frankness than was usually found in his policy, his determination to extirpate the reformed religion. Elizabeth's safety, as well as her reputation, demanded an undisguised resistance on her part, and the sudden revolt of that Monarch's oppressed subjects in the Low Countries, together with the horrible vengeance inflicted on them by the Duke of Alva, rendered her interference not less popular than politic. The States of Holland and Zealand offered to swear allegiance to her, and were refused. She supplied them liberally however from time to time with arms and money, and her ministers were already occupied in preparations for that warfare with Spain the triumphant event of which is yet so grateful to English minds. Meanwhile the Catholics at home were watched and pursued with renewed severity, in proof of which the Queen herself, in one of her progresses, imprisoned, by her own special authority, a gentleman who was in the very act of sumptuously entertaining her at his mansion, because some of

her attendants had found an image of the Virgin concealed in one of his outhouses. Of such absurd extravagance and injustice could she be capable when left to the unadvised exercise of her own will !

For several years past Elizabeth had governed Scotland by her influence over the Regent Morton, who was her creature and pensioner, but James was now emerging from childhood, and a small party, secretly under the direction of the Duke of Guise, persuaded him to assume the administration of the kingdom. Morton, after some struggle, in which she vainly endeavoured to support him, was arrested, tried, and executed ; a scheme was formed to associate Mary with her son in the sovereign authority ; and the interest of the Court of France was fruitlessly exerted to the utmost to that effect. It is somewhat singular that Elizabeth should have chosen this period to encourage the renewed addresses of Alençon, now Duke of Anjou. The negociations on this remarkable occasion were instituted and conducted solely by herself ; and her Council, hesitating to answer her appeal to its opinion by an unqualified approbation of the match, was almost reprimanded by her. The nation was struck with astonishment that a woman who from her early youth had always declared even an abhorrence of marriage should, at the age of forty-eight, suddenly determine to give her hand to a Prince more than twenty years younger than herself, and little recommended either by talents, person, or manners. Every part of her conduct relating to this strange affair was marked by the most extravagant caprice ; Sir Philip Sidney composed with great freedom a long and laboured argument, or rather invective, against the match, and it was received without disapprobation ; while a Mr. Stubbs, a barrister, and a man of considerable merit, and unquestionable loyalty, followed the same course, and was punished by the loss of his right hand, and a long imprisonment. Anjou at length arrived privately, and she received him with all the airs of an impassioned damsel of romance. He left England for a short

interval, and, on his return, after some secret interviews, she presented him to her Court, in the full presence of which, among other amorous fooleries, she took a ring from her finger, and placed it on his, in token, as it seemed, of a confirmation of their contract, and six weeks after they coolly parted to meet no more. These mysterious absurdities, for which no one has hitherto satisfactorily accounted, might have arisen out of a wildness of resentment and jealousy suddenly excited by her recent discovery of Leicester's private marriage to the Countess of Essex. As she had been weak enough to betray publicly the influence of those passions over her by imprisoning him for that fact, it cannot be unreasonable to suppose that she was capable of flattering herself that she might mortify him, in her turn, by an affectation of fondness for another lover.

Elizabeth was now surrounded by enemies. The puritans menaced her monarchical power, and the catholics her life, and their hatred to each other was exceeded only by their joint hatred of her. In the various plots of the latter, which at this time followed each other in rapid succession, the captive Mary was always directly or indirectly a party. It was deemed necessary to remove her from the milder custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose several mansions she had been for many years confined, and to place her in the hands of sterner keepers. A bond of association for the defence of Elizabeth was proposed by the Court, and eagerly signed by multitudes of nobles and gentry. This instrument was presently after adopted by a new Parliament, and put into the form of an act, with the addition of a clause, clearly foreboding the ultimate fate of Mary, by which the Queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for the trial of any one who, pretending a right to the Crown, might contrive any invasion, insurrection, or assassination, against her, and leaving the punishment of such offender to her discretion. The same Parliament, a majority of which was puritanical, among other awkward strides towards independence, made some resolutions trenching on

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth's ecclesiastical supremacy; attacked the authority of the prelacy; and were reprimanded by her in a speech in which she plainly told them that she considered the puritans not less dangerous than the catholics. Those of the Low Countries, a peaceful because a commercial people, worn with warfare and oppression, once more besought her to become their Sovereign, and were again refused. It became however a question whether she should wage offensive war against Spain on their behalf, and Elizabeth, usually indifferent where her passions were not excited, left the decision to her ministers. After long debates, they determined it affirmatively. Drake, whose courage and nautical skill had been abundantly proved in former enterprizes, was dispatched against the Spanish colonies in America, and was eminently successful, and a strong military force was landed in Holland; but here the Queen's inveterate partiality towards Leicester interfered, she named him to the command of the expedition, it failed, through his ambition and inexperience; she quarrelled with him, and forgave him; and he returned, despised by the States, and hated at home by all but his infatuated mistress.

The termination of Mary's sufferings approached. The rage of the persecuted catholics of England, incessantly fomented by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the heads of the League, concentrated itself in a new plot, involving at once the assassination of the Queen, an insurrection, and a foreign invasion. Mary, whom it was proposed to place on the English Throne, had been long in close correspondence with the conspirators, and was acquainted, even to minuteness, with all the details of this awful enterprise, which were at length betrayed by one of the parties, and sifted by Walsingham, a minister who seems to have been born but for such employment, and whose vigilance had previously detected the general design. Fourteen of the leaders were seized and executed, but to dispose of Mary required deliberation, in the course of which let it be remembered that Leicester, a known poisoner, proposed that she should be so removed, and, with that

hypocrisy for which he was little less infamous, sent a clergyman to persuade Walsingham by scriptural argument that in such a case the expedient would be lawful. It was however determined that she should be tried on the act which had been lately passed with the peculiar view, it may be said, of so applying it. Of the catastrophe of the tragedy it is needless to speak. In reflecting on the first treacherous and inhospitable detention of this Princess; on the various horrors of her tedious imprisonment; and the final sacrifice of her life; all equally barbarous and unjust; we almost forget the crimes and the follies of her earlier time, and are inclined to consider her concluding designs on the throne and the life of her great enemy but as measures of retaliation which may readily find an apology in the infirmity of human passions, however lofty. For the conduct of Elizabeth too may a similar plea be urged in extenuation, but what were the passions which actuated her? vanity, envy, and jealousy, succeeded by groveling fear, and insatiable malice. The incomparable resignation and heroism which marked the death of the one almost completed the redemption of her fame: the vile dissimulation of the other which followed has plunged her memory into irretrievable infamy. She declared, with oaths and tears, that she had forbidden the delivery of the warrant signed by her for the execution; and to support the deception, doomed to disgrace and poverty her faithful servant, the Secretary Davison, in whose hands she had placed it, directing him to forward it, while she lamented to him that Mary's keepers had not prevented the necessity for it by assassinating their prisoner.

James's resentment of the murder of his mother did not exceed the forms of decency, and presently wholly subsided, while the attention of England was suddenly turned from it to the mighty attack meditated by Spain, which had long been foreseen by Elizabeth's ministers, and was now generally known to the public. It had been repeatedly disappointed by the successful enterprises of Drake, and other nautical adventurers, when at length Europe

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

resounded with the news of the equipment of the Armada which the Spaniards called “ invincible,” the total discomfiture of which it is scarcely necessary even to mention. Leicester, whom the Queen had appointed to the chief command of the land forces raised to oppose the expected invasion, and for whom she had ordered a commission for the unheard-of office of her “ Lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland,” survived that great event but for a few weeks, and she coldly seized and sold his property to reimburse his debts to her—a sufficient proof that the extravagance of her partiality had subsisted merely on motives which could not survive him, not to mention the speedy accession of another, and a more youthful favourite. She seems to have hesitated for a while whom to select from three candidates, each of them remarkably handsome, highly accomplished, and about thirty years younger than herself. The Earl of Essex became the unfortunate object of her choice, and succeeded his father-in-law, Leicester, not only in the full measure of her affection, but as leader of the puritan faction.

Had Elizabeth abstained from this final folly, the concluding years of her public and private life might have passed in uninterrupted tranquillity. The pride and the power of Spain had received a wound not readily to be healed ; France was worn by intestine commotions, and its monarch was her firm friend, as well from prejudice as from policy ; and in Scotland, which was yet in some measure distracted by the violent factions that had alternately ruled during a long regal minority, James, not less pacific in his nature than helpless from circumstances, obeyed her mandates with almost the submission of a tributary Prince. The Catholics, stunned by the blows which had fallen on the Queen of Scots, and on their great patron, Philip, required years to re-inspire them even with hope, and the Puritans had not yet dreamed of connecting rebellion with their profession of faith ; the power of the Crown was almost absolute, and the great mass of the people contented. The history of the last ten years of this

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Queen would have been nearly a blank but for the surprising rise and fall of Essex.

She gave him the Garter, and appointed him Master of the Horse, before he had fully attained the age of twenty-one. From the hour of his first appearance at her court she used towards him a singularity of carriage which at first rather excited secret ridicule than envy, and which seems, naturally enough, to have disgusted himself, for he fled privately from her, and became a volunteer in a foreign expedition. She summoned him home, first by an order from her Privy Council, then by an angry letter from herself, and when he unwillingly returned redoubled her fondness. He married, and she became outrageous, but was presently reconciled. She appointed him to military commands, for which he had no requisite but bravery, and forced him into the character of a statesman, for which the natural impetuosity of his generous temper utterly disqualified him. Under the influence of that foible he frequently treated her with rudeness and contempt, and she bore it patiently. In an argument however on the affairs of Ireland, the freedom of his contradictions provoked her to strike him ; he fled furiously from the Court , and she drew him with difficulty from the privacy in which he had buried himself to invest him with the government of that very country. His measures there were ill-judged, and worse executed. He received a letter from Elizabeth full of bitter reproaches , anticipated at length her vengeance ; and his horror of the consequent triumph of his enemies at home irritated his sensitive mind to the brink of frenzy. In this wretched disposition, he took a sudden resolution to return secretly, and throw himself at her feet. She received him with kindness, but referred the consideration of his case to her Privy Council. He was deprived of his seat in that assembly, and of his offices, and placed for a short time in a mild imprisonment. He retired into the country, and, could he have waited patiently, would probably have been restored to all his former favour ; but his mind had been incurably wounded, and

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

he had lost all reasonable power of guiding his own conduct. He returned to London ; shut himself up in his own house with a few imprudent followers , detained as hostages the Lord Keeper, and Chief Justice, who had been sent to hear his complaints ; and at length sallied forth, with his little force, in hostile array against he knew not whom. He was presently overpowered, and soon after brought to trial for high treason by his Peers, who ought to have acquitted him on the score of insanity ; but they found him guilty, and Elizabeth, under an impression of terror, which for the time had overpowered, but not impaired, her affection for him, consigned him to the scaffold. She survived him for two years, gradually sinking, without disease, under a regular abatement of strength and spirits, the commencement of which is proved to have been observed almost immediately after his death. To those who may be inclined to take the pains to examine carefully the numerous notices which remain, on indubitable authority, of her decay, and the expressions which fell from her during its progress, it will be evident that her life fell a sacrifice to the premature loss of that of her favourite. She died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603

Some remark may probably be expected here on the singularities which distinguish the portrait prefixed to this outline of Elizabeth's life ; but little can be said in explanation of them. In an age which delighted in the pictorial riddles of inexhaustible allegory it is perhaps not very strange that she should have adopted this mode of displaying such devices ; still less that one of the vainest women in the world should have invented, or accepted, such as might attribute to herself the beneficence and splendor of the sun, the wisdom of the serpent, and the vigilance of the most acute and watchful organs of the human frame. Besides, her wardrobe at the time of her death contained more than two thousand dresses, of the fashions of all countries, of all times, and of all contrivance that busy fancy could suggest, and

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

in the gratification of this childish whim variety imparted the main charm. The portrait itself however, were it a mere head, would be of great curiosity, inasmuch as it represents her much younger than any other extant, and with at least as much beauty as she could at any time have possessed.



Engraved by P. Lightfoot

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON

OB 1604

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK COTLAND IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

JAMES Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and Duke of Chatelherault, had by his lady, Margaret, eldest daughter of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, four sons. James, the eldest, who, after his father's advancement to his French Dukedom, bore the title of Earl of Arian, was a young nobleman of the proudest hopes. He had been bred in France, and the influence of Mary, his Queen and near relation, who was the consort of the Dauphin, afterwards Francis the second, had placed him, though a most earnest protestant, in the post of Colonel of the French King's Scottish Guards. The imprudent activity of his zeal became intolerable to a Court distinguished by its attachment to the Papacy, and he was compelled to fly from the pardonable resentment of a land whose faith and modes of worship he had contemned and insulted, but the reformers of Scotland received him as an object of persecution who had barely escaped martyrdom, and the political prejudices which were interwoven with their affection to the new discipline fixed on the family of Guise the charge of a deliberate plan to sacrifice this illustrious Scot to their vengeance against the reformation. Thus endeared to them, not less than by that presumptive right to the inheritanee of the Throne which has been more than once stated in this work, he was formally recommended by the Scottish Parliament to Elizabeth in 1560, a few months after his flight from France, as a husband, and civilly rejected. A similar proposal was made on his behalf, under the same authority, to his own Sovereign, on her return to Scotland, a widow, in the following year, but without better success. These disappointments, operating on a most impetuous and fiery nature, are said to have gradually overset a mind which seems to

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

have been originally ill-balanced, and he became an incurable lunatic.

John, the second son, will be the subject of the present memoir ; and Claud, the third, was a young nobleman of the most exalted spirit and honour, a steady Roman Catholic, and most enthusiastically devoted to the cause of his royal mistress. With David, the fourth son, this little essay has no concern ; nor should I have detailed these particulars of his brothers James and Claud, were not the few facts which I have been able to obtain of the story of Lord John so frequently connected with their's that the foregoing short recital respecting them seemed indispensibly necessary.

He was born in 1532, and endowed, suitably to his high birth, while yet a child, with several royal grants of estates, particularly of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, which had been formerly held by Beatoun, during his progress to the primacy. He received his education in France, whether with a view to the ecclesiastical profession is uncertain, but undoubtedly under teachers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in strict conformity to the principles of that church, which, however, after the example of his father and elder brother, he quitted about the year 1559, and embraced the protestant faith. This change seems to have been dictated neither by party views, or schemes of aggrandisement, in himself or them. The Duke, his father, who was born to the possession of dignity which could have been increased only by his succession to the Throne, loved that retirement for which the character and measure of his talents had in truth best fitted him ; Arran was known to have recanted through a zeal which savoured of bigotry ; and his own invariable fidelity to the Catholic Mary, in opposition to the politics of those whose creed he had adopted, amply proved the honesty and independence of his motives, since he at once hazarded the loss of her favour by renouncing the doctrines of her church, and incurred the hatred of her opponents by cherishing her temporal interests.

He did in fact offend both. Mary, on her arrival from France to mount the Throne of Scotland, found the Duke and his family not only protestants, but supporters of the cause of the congregation, in which she had been taught to believe that she could find only enemies. Airan, even while he aspired to her hand, endeavoured to prevent her practice of the rights of her religion, and entered a public protestation against it. The whole house of Hamilton fell under her disfavour, and retired from the Court, and the subsequent opposition of the Duke to her imprudent marriage with Darnley sealed his disgrace, and forced him to fly with his family into France. They remained there till her calamities required the aid and consolation of their loyalty. On receiving the news of her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, the Lords John and Claud Hamilton flew to Scotland, and mustered her scattered friends at their father's seat at Hamilton, where they signed with them, on the twenty-fifth of December, 1567, a bond of association to liberate her. The interesting tale of her escape by other means is well known. She reached Hamilton Palace in safety, where an army of six thousand men was presently raised for her service, at the head of which she marched in person to meet a force hastily led against her by her bastard brother, the Regent Murray, which however gained a complete victory in the battle of Langside on the 13th of May, 1568. She now fled to England, never to return, and in the following July, every individual of the name of Hamilton who had fought for her on that day, including in fact nearly the whole of her army, was outlawed by a Parliament called by the Regent for that purpose.

The two succeeding years were distinguished by the violent deaths of the Earl of Murray, and his successor in the Regency, the Earl of Lenox. These assassinations, the first of which had been perpetrated by a Hamilton, were laid by the friends of the deceased noblemen to the charge of the Lords John and Claud. Their illegitimate uncle, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had been accused of the murder of Murray, and put to death without a

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

trial, and their names had been inserted in a general act of attainder, passed with the characteristic violence and injustice of the time, against all parties concerned in either of those crimes. At the treaty however of Perth, in 1573, which was appointed especially for the establishment of securities and amnesties, it was stipulated, that “all the processes, sentences of forfeiture, and all other prosecutions passed against George Earl of Huntly, the Lord John Hamilton, or any of their party or friends, for any crimes committed by them, or any of their party, since the fifteenth day of June, 1567, should be declared null, and of no effect.” Six years had passed, during which the Duke of Chatelherault had died, and the Lord John, in consequence of the insanity of his elder brother Arran, had been declared heir to his father’s estates, and was living on them in a dignified retirement, when Morton, then Regent, determined to crush at one blow the existing members of this illustrious House, and by practising on the fears and jealousies of the young King, made him a party in the iniquitous design.

It was pretended that the pardon conceded by the treaty of Perth did not extend to such as were accessory to the murder of the Regents Murray or Lenox. “Lord John and his brother,” says Dr. Robertson, “were suspected of being the authors of both these crimes, and had been included in a general act of attainder on that account. Without summoning them to trial, or examining a single witness to prove the charge, this attainder was now thought sufficient to subject them to all the penalties which they would have incurred by being formally convicted. Morton, with some other noblemen, his creatures, received a commission to seize their persons and estates. On a few hour’s warning a considerable body of troops was ready, and marched towards Hamilton in hostile array. Happily the two brothers made their escape, though with great difficulty; but their lands were confiscated; the castles of Hamilton and Draffan besieged, and those who defended them punished. The Earl of Arran

though incapable from his situation of committing any crime, was involved by a shameful abuse of law in the common ruin of his family, and, as if he too could have been guilty of rebellion, he was confined a close prisoner. These proceedings, so contrary to the fundamental principles of justice, were all ratified in the subsequent Parliament."

The Lord John Hamilton fled on foot, in the disguise of a sailor, into England, and from thence to Paris, where his resistance to the importunities of the Duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal, that he would return to the Catholic church, gave such offence at Court as obliged him to retire, with scarcely the means of subsistence, into obscurity. After some years' painful residence in France he returned privately to England, where he met his brother Claud, and several Scots of high rank, who had fled from the tyranny of James's first and perhaps worst favourite, James Stewart, on whom he had bestowed the title of Earl of Arran, so basely torn from its unhappy owner. These eminent exiles now concerted a plan not only to re-enter their country, but to drive that unworthy minion from the presence of his abused master. They contrived by secret correspondence to appoint many dependents to meet them, armed, on the borders, and having approached Edinburgh by forced marches, with ten thousand men, before the King was apprised of their design, publicly swore never to separate till he should pardon them, and dismiss Stewart. James, dreading the popularity of their design more than their numbers, threw himself into the castle of Stirling, rather with the view of gaining time to deliberate than in the hope of making a defence, and found himself suddenly invested by their troops. Incapable, and probably unwilling, to offer a military resistance, he consented to both their demands. Admitted to his presence, the Lord John Hamilton addressed him on the behalf of the party, as we are informed by a respectable Scottish historian, in these words. "Sir, we are come, in the most humble manner, to beg mercy, and your Majesty's favour." The King,

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON

continues the same writer, answered " My Lord, I did never see you before, and must confess that of all the company you have been most wronged. You were a faithful servant to the Queen, my mother, in my minority, and, when I understood not as I do the estate of Kings, hardly used."

These curious circumstances, so highly illustrative at once of the timidity, the vanity, and the caprice, of James, occurred in October, 1585, and were immediately followed by the complete restoration in parliament of this illustrious and persecuted family. Lord John Hamilton was shortly after sworn a Privy Counsellor, and appointed Governor of Dunbarton Castle, and, when the King in 1589 sailed to Denmark, to espouse in person the Princess Anne, was complimented with the post of Lieutenant General in the south of Scotland till his master's return: but it was not till 1599 that he received the compensation probably most soothing to his outraged feelings, on the seventeenth of April in which year he was created Marquis of Hamilton. He died on the twelfth of April, 1604.

This nobleman married Margaret, only daughter of John Lyon, eighth Lord Glamis, relict of Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Lord Cassilis, and had issue by her one son, James, his successor, and one daughter, Margaret, married to John, eighth Lord Maxwell.



Engraved by W. T. Fry

GEORGE CLIFFORD EARL OF CUMBERLAND

OF 1601

THE DUCHESS OF CUMBERLAND

BODLEIAN GALLERY OXFORD

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND

WE might search vainly through the whole circle of the biography of later centuries, and through the almost proverbial varieties of the English character, without meeting with a parallel to the disposition of this Nobleman. He was by nature what the heroes of chivalry were from fashion, and stood alone, therefore, in a time to the manners of which he could not assimilate himself, like a being who having slept for ages, had suddenly awaked amidst the distant posterity of his contemporaries. The history of his singular life must be sought sometimes in the journal of the sailor, and sometimes in the tablets of the courtier. in the rough-hewn narrations of Hakluyt and Purchas, and in the light and elegant notices of Walpole and Pennant.

He was the eldest son of Henry Clifford, second Earl, by his second Countess Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. His father, dying in 1569, left him an infant of the age of eleven years, and his wardship was granted by the Crown to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, but his education seems to have been superintended by the Viscount Montague, who had married his mother's sister, and at whose house, in Sussex, he passed some years of his youth. He went from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he studied in Peter House under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, or rather devoted his attention so earnestly to the Mathematicks as to abstract it wholly from all other studies. Thus it happened that the ardent spirit of adventure, and the boundless activity which afterwards distinguished him, took first a nautical turn, acquired an increased force by assuming a peculiar direction

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

and enhanced the charm of curiosity by adding to it the interest of science.

Several of the earlier years of his manhood passed however in unobserved employment, during which we hear only of him that he was one of the Peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots; but immediately after that deplorable proceeding, he fitted out, at his private charge, a little naval force which sailed on an expedition planned by himself, while he, with a party of volunteers of distinguished rank, embarked for Holland, with the view of relieving Sluys, then besieged by the Prince of Parma. Both enterprises were unsuccessful. His fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace, the latter commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh, was destined to a voyage of discovery, but with particular instructions to lose no opportunity of annoying the Spaniards. It sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of June, 1586, but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and could not finally quit England till the end of August, when it bent its course towards the South Seas, and, having reached, amidst considerable dangers and difficulties, as far as forty-four degrees of southern latitude, returned home, after thirteen months' absence, having captured a few Portuguese vessels, from which little had been gained beyond those supplies of provision of which the crews had been frequently in imminent need.

In 1588 he commanded a ship called the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, in the fleet which destroyed the Spanish Armada, and distinguished himself equally by his bravery and his skill in the various engagements by which that great work was accomplished, particularly in the last action, which was fought off Calais. Even during that arduous service, his mind was employed in projecting a second voyage to the South Seas, the command of which he determined to take on himself. Elizabeth now flattered him with the distinction of a royal commission, and lent him one of her own ships, named the *Golden Lion*, which however, as well as the rest, was fitted out solely at his charge. This expedition,

EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

which sailed in the following October, proved even more unfortunate than the former. Baffled by contrary winds and storms, in one of which he had been obliged to cut the main mast of his own ship by the board, he returned, having scarcely been able to quit the channel during his absence. In 1589, disappointed but not dispirited, on the eighteenth of June he again left England, with a force of three small ships, equipped by himself, and headed by the *Victory*, from the royal navy, in which he assumed the command. He now sailed to the West Indies, and was at length in some measure successful. He took the town of Fyal, and stripped it of fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and, in the course of this cruise, sent home twenty-eight ships of various burthen, laden with goods to the value of more than twenty thousand pounds. These advantages were not cheaply purchased. In a desperate engagement between the *Victory* and a Brasil ship, off St Michael's, he received several wounds, and was severely scorched, and the sufferings of his men from want of provisions, especially water, on his return to England, are perhaps unparalleled in the multifarious relations of naval misery. A particular narrative of this horrible distress, by Edward Wright, a famous mathematician, who sailed with the Earl, may be found in Hakluyt's collection, and states at the conclusion, that the men who died of thirst, exceeded in number those who had perished otherwise during the whole voyage. This calamity occurred almost within sight of the coast of Ireland, where at length, on the second of December, a change of wind permitted the survivors to land in Bantry Bay.

Hardship and danger, however, were agreeable to this singular man, and his romantic mind delighted in extremities of difficulty. He put to sea again, in May, 1591, with five ships, manned and provisioned, as usual, at his own expense, and having cruised for some months in the Mediterranean, with indifferent success returned, but to prepare for a fifth expedition, which left the shores of England, destined to the Azores, in the summer of the

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

following year, and which, on some occasion of disgust, he suddenly declined to accompany. It proved more fortunate than any of his preceding enterprises, but in the end produced a serious mortification to himself. His ships, among inferior successes, captured, on their return, one of the Spanish Caragues, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but, under the pretext of his personal absence, and other allegations, it was adjudged at home that he had no legal claim to any part of the sum. He was thrown therefore on the Queen's generosity for his requital, and in the end reluctantly accepted at her hands, as a boon, thirty-six thousand pounds. Yet, in 1593, he again sailed to the Spanish settlements, with four ships of his own, and the Golden Lion, and Bonaventure, from the navy, hoisting his flag on board the former; and, after having captured a French convoy of great value, was compelled by a severe illness to quit his command, and return to England, leaving his little fleet under the orders of Monson, afterwards the most celebrated naval officer of his time. Several rich prizes were made after his departure, and this was the most profitable of all his expeditions. The ships anchored at Plymouth on the fifteenth of May, 1594; but the Earl, barely risen from his sick bed, had left that port three weeks before their arrival, with a small squadron, fitted out at the charge of himself and some others, and bound to the Azores, from whence, having grievously annoyed the Spaniards, with little profit to himself and his companions, he returned to Portsmouth in the end of August.

His passion for nautical adventure was now at the height. Unable to employ ships of sufficient force to support his hired vessels without borrowing from the Queen, and unwilling to subject himself to the controul under which the use of such loans necessarily placed him, he determined to build a man of war of his own, and accomplished the task. It was of the burthen of nine hundred tons, was launched at Deptford; and named by Elizabeth "The Scourge of Malice;" reputed the best and largest ship

EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

that had been built by any English subject. He entered it, in the river, on his eighth enterprise, accompanied by three inferior vessels, and had proceeded to Plymouth, when he received the Queen's command, by Raleigh, for his instant return to London, which he obeyed. His squadron, however, proceeded on its voyage to the Spanish main; made some prizes; and returned to take him on board for another cruise thither; in which his great ship was so shattered in a violent storm, which occurred when he had scarcely reached the distance of forty leagues from England, that he was obliged to retrace his course, and to wait, however impatiently, at home till the vessel should be rendered again fit for service. At length, on the sixth of March, 1598, he embarked in it, at the head of nineteen others, on his last, and most considerable expedition. His expenses in the preparations for it had been enormous, and the expectations of his sanguine mind had kept pace with them. He sailed on the sixth of March for the West Indies, where, for seven months, he incessantly harassed the Spaniards in their settlements, to the great advantage of the public interests of his country; lost two of his ships, and more than a thousand of his men; and received from the produce of his captures about a tenth part of the sum which he had disbursed for the purposes of his voyage. "His fleet," however, says Lloyd; "was bound to no other harbour but the port of honour, though touching at the port of profit in passage thereunto."

Such is the outline of his maritime story. At home, his politeness, his courage, and his magnificence, were, in the strictest sense of the word, inimitable: highly tinctured always by the singularity of his mind, they were solely and distinctly his own. He had good parts, but the warmth of his temper, and the punctilious exactness of his notions of honour, rendered him unfit for any concern in public affairs. Elizabeth, who looked narrowly and judiciously into the characters of men, seems therefore to have employed him but on one short service, for which no one could have been better qualified—the reducing to obedience his

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

eccentric compeer, Essex; but she knew, perhaps admired, his foibles, and certainly flattered them. In 1592 she dignified and decorated him with the Order of the Garter. At an audience, upon his return from one of his voyages, she dropped her glove, which he took up, and presented to her on his knees. She desired him to keep it for her sake, and he adorned it richly with diamonds, and wore it ever after in the front of his hat at public ceremonies. This little characteristic circumstance is commemorated in a very scarce whole-length portrait of the Earl, engraved by Robert White. She constituted him, on the resignation of Sir Henry Lea, Knight of the Garter, disabled by age, her own peculiar champion at all tournaments. Sir William Segar has preserved, in his treatise “of Honour Military and Civil,” an exact account of the pomp and parade of his admission into that romantic office, for the insertion of a short extract from which perhaps no apology may be necessary.

“On the seventeenth day of November, anno 1590, this honourable gentleman” (Sir Henry Lea), “together with the Earl of Cumberland, having first performed their service in armes, presented themselves unto her Highnesse at the foot of the staires, under her gallery window, in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, where at that time her Majestie did sit, accompanied with the Vicount Turyn, ambassador of France, many ladies, and the chieftest nobilitie. Her Majestie, beholding these armed knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret as every one thereat greatly marvailed. And, hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a pavilion, made of white taffata, containing eight score’elles, being in proportion like unto the sacred temple of the virgins vestall. This temple seemed to consist upon pillars of pourferry, arched like unto a church: within it were many lamps burning: also on the one side there stood an altar, covered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles, burning in rich candlesticks: upon the altar also were laid certain princely presents, which, after, by

EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

three virgins were presented unto her Majestie. Before the doore of this temple stood a crowned pillar, embraced by an eglantine tree, whereon was hanged a table, and therein written, with letters of gold, this prayer following. *Elizæ, &c. Piæ, potenti, foelicissimæ Virgini ; fidei, pacis, nobilitatis, Vindici ; cui Deus, astra, virtus, summa devoverunt omnia. Post tot annos, tot triumphos, animam ad pedes positurus tuos, sacra senex affixit arma. Vitam quietam, imperium, famam æternam, æternum, precatur tibi, sanguine redempturus suo. Ultra Columnas Herculis Columna moveatur tua. Corona superet Coronas omnes, ut quam Cælum foelicissimé nascenti Coronam dedit, beatissima moriens reportes Cælo. Summe, Sancte, Æterne, audi, exaudi, Deus."*

Having related other circumstances, not to the present purpose, the narrative concludes, "These presents and prayer being with great reverence delivered into her Majestie's owne hands, and he himself disarmed, offered up his armour at the foot of her Majestie's crowned pillar ; and, kneeling upon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching she would be pleased to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her Majestie graciously accepting of that offer, this aged knight armed the Earle, and mounted him upon his horse. That being done, he put upon his owne person a side coat of blacke velvet, pointed under the arme, and covered his head, in lieu of an helmet, with a buttoned cap, of the countrey fashion."

The Earl's expenses in discharging the duties, if they may be so called, of this fantastic office ; in horse-racing, which had then lately become fashionable ; and in feasts which rivalled the splendor of royalty ; added to the aggregate loss on the whole of his maritime career, greatly impaired his estate. He was, to say the least, careless of his family, lived on ill terms with his Countess, Margaret, third daughter of his guardian, Francis Earl of Bedford, a woman of extraordinary merit, but perhaps too high spirited for such a husband ; and neglected the interests, as well as the education, of his only surviving child. Of that child, little

GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

less remarkable than her father, Anne, wife first to Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and secondly to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, some account, together with her portrait, will presently appear in this work.

George, Earl of Cumberland, died at the Savoy, in London, on the thirtieth of October, 1605, and was buried at Skipton, in Yorkshire, where was the chief seat of his family, on the thirtieth, says Dugdale, of the following March.



Engraving by J. Smith

CHARLES BLOUNT, BARON MONTJOY, & EARL OF DEVONSHIRE

OB. 1606

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JUAN PANTOJA IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON

CHARLES BLOUNT,

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

THIS accomplished person, an ornament equally to the characters of soldier, statesman, scholar, and courtier, was the second of the two sons of James, fifth Lord Montjoy, by Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, of St. Oswald, in the county of York. He was born in the year 1563, and compleated a fine education at Oxford, but in what college the industrious biographer of that university has omitted to inform us. The patrimony of his superb House had been long gradually decaying. His grandfather had burthened it with heavy debts in supporting an unusual magnificence in the romantic splendors of the Court of Henry the eighth; his father, in the view of repairing the loss, increased it tenfold by endless endeavours to discover the philosopher's stone; and his elder brother nearly annihilated the remnant by various and less creditable prodigality. For himself, without money, and without friends, no choice was left between absolute penury and a profession more or less laborious, and he seems to have been destined accordingly to the study and practice of the law. Of his anxiety to repair the fallen fortunes of his family, as well of his ready wit, we have a striking instance, from the best authority—His parents wishing, in his childhood, to have a portrait of him, he desired that he might be painted with a trowel in his hand, and this inscription; “*Ad reædificandam antiquam Domum.*”

Sir Robert Naunton has given us a sketch of his early manhood with a freshness and vivacity which could not but be injured by alteration. “As he came from Oxford,” says Naunton, “he took the Inner Temple in his way to the Court, whither he no sooner

CHARLES BLOUNT,

came but, without asking, he had a pretty strange kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about twenty years of age ; of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composure, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at dinner, whither he came, to see the fashion of the Court. The Queen had soon found him out, and, with a kind of affected frown, asked the lady carver what he was. She answered she knew him not ; insomuch as an enquiry was made from one to another who he might be, till at length it was told the Queen he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquisition, with the eye of Majesty fixed upon him (as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not) stirred the blood of this young gentleman insomuch as his colour came and went, which the Queen observing, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiss, encouraging him with gracious words, and new looks ; and so, diverting her speech to the lords and ladies, she said that she no sooner observed him but that she knew there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions, 'of pity towards his house ; and then, again demanding his name, she said ' fail you not to come to the Court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good.' And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace ; where it falls into consideration that, though he wanted not wit and courage, for he had very fine attractions, and being a good piece of a scholar, yet were they accompanied with the retracts of bashfulness, and a natural modesty, which, as the tone of his House, and the ebb of his fortune, then stood, might have hindered his progression, had they not been reinforced by the infusion of sovereign favour, and the Queen's gracious invitation. And, that it may appear how low he was, and how much that heretic necessity will work in the dejection of good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance that his exhibition was very scant until his brother died, which was shortly after his admission to the Court, and then it was no more than a thousand

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE

marks per annum, wherewith he lived plentifully, in a fine way and garb, and without any great sustentation, during all her time; and as there was in his nature a kind of backwardness, which did not befriend him, nor suit with the motion of the Court, so there was in him an inclination to arms, with a humour of travelling and gadding abroad, which had not some wise men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen herself laid in her commands, he would, out of his natural propension, have marred his own market."

It seems however to have been some time before he gratified this disposition, for in 1585 he was elected a burgess for St. Ives, in Cornwall, and in the Parliament which met in the following year was chosen for Berealston, in Devon, which borough he again represented some years after. He was also knighted in 1586, and we first hear of him with certainty in a warlike character as one of the crowd of volunteers of quality who hired vessels to join the fleet sent to meet the Spanish Armada. Yet there is no doubt that about this time he had a small command in the Low Countries, for we are again told by Naunton that "he would press the Queen with the pretences of visiting his company there so often that at length he had a flat denial;" but even this he disregarded, and embarked privately with Sir John Norris, whom he entirely loved, and used to call his father, in the furious expedition made by that great officer to the coast of Bretagne in 1591. "At last," says Naunton, "the Queen began to take his decessions for contempts, and confined his residence to the Court, and her own presence."

In 1594 he was appointed Governor of Portsmouth, nor was it till this year, contrary to Naunton's report, that he succeeded to the Barony of Montjoy, on the death of William, his elder brother. Highly distinguished now by a partiality which Elizabeth could not conceal, he had yet long to wait for those solid proofs of her favour which his qualifications evidently merited. Essex seems to have retarded his preferment, under a general impres-

CHARLES BLOUNT,

sion of jealousy, perhaps heightened by a somewhat vindictive recollection of a particular personal offence. Montjoy, shortly before he became possessed of that title, had so delighted Elizabeth by his gallantry and dexterity in a tilt at which she was present that she sent him, as a mark of her approbation, a chess-queen of gold, richly enamelled, with which, tied to his arm with a crimson riband, he appeared the next day at Court. Essex, observing it as he passed through the privy chamber, enquired of his friend, Sir Fulke Greville, what it meant? and, on being informed, exclaimed, "Now I perceive that every fool must have a favour," which insulting speech having reached Blount's ears, he challenged the Earl, and they met in Marybone Park, where Essex received a wound in the thigh, and was disarmed. Yet it was to this favourite, whom Elizabeth well knew to be too generous to cherish illiberal resentments, that she joined Montjoy in his first conspicuous public services—she appointed him Lieutenant General of the land forces in Essex's expedition to the Azores in 1597, and, on the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, towards the close of the same year, gave him a similar commission to serve under the Earl in that island, adding to it the dignity of the Garter.

The office of Lord Deputy there becoming vacant in the succeeding year, Elizabeth and the most of her Council were strongly inclined to place Montjoy in it, but were opposed by Essex, who secretly coveted it for himself. Camden tells us that he objected against his rival his small experience in military affairs; the slenderness of his estate and interest; and, to use Camden's words, that "he minded books too much to attend to the government." Essex, though his favour was then in the wane, prevailed, and on the final extinction of it, produced a few months after by the extravagance of his own conduct, was succeeded by Montjoy. "So confident," says Naunton, "was the Queen in her own princely judgement and opinion she had conceived of his worth and conduct, that she would have this worthy gentle-

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

man, and none other, to finish and bring the Irish war to a propitious end; for it was a propheticall speech of her own that it would be his fortune and his honour to cut the thread of that fatal rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave; where she was not deceived, for he achieved it, but with much pains and carefulness, and many jealousies of the Court and time." Montjoy arrived in Ireland on the fourteenth of February, 1600, N.S. and, without an hour's delay, commenced the practice of a system of warfare wholly new to his half civilized, however brave, adversaries, and which he had previously formed on a most judicious consideration of the character and habits of the people, and of the peculiar features of those parts of the island which were the main seats of the war. His plans, the produce of his closet, were executed in the field with all the judgement, bravery, activity, and precision, an union of which is esteemed to constitute the perfection of military command. The following letter, written soon after his arrival, affords curious proof of his vivacity, his high spirit, and the familiarity which it may be presumed it was his habit to use in his private intercourse with his haughty Sovereign. The original is in the Cotton Collection—

May itt please youre Ma^{tye}

In this greate game, wheare on equall hazarde you venture golldes against led, though you winn more, yett your losses willbe more famus, and the best reconyngs wee can make you will seem shorte till you vouchsafe to looke upon the whole somme. If since my comminge over I should give you an accounte unto this daye, I will presume to speake itt withe assurance, your Ma^{tye} hathe woon muche more than you have lost, and you have lost nothing thatt the prudence of your minister coulde prevente. Your army hathe recovered harte and reputacyon, and the estate, hope beyond their owne expectation, w^{ch} I esteem so great a degree unto good success as thatt by compassinge so much I have already stepped over the greatest barr to doo you servis. The

CHARLES BLOUNT,

Earle of Ormond's parley I vowe, on my aleageance to God and you, was wthout my privitye, and so muche have I distasted the lyke in others thatt, before this accidente, I have forbidden itt to private captaynes, and no rebell hathe ever yet spoken to myselfe but upon his knees; but, iff I may presume to yeeld unto your Ma^{tie} a just excuse for the President of Moonster, as itt was not in his power to hinder the Earle's parley, so his intention to be present was to do you servis by discoveringe in his manner many jelozeys conceaved uppon good grownds, and off great consequence to your Ma^{tie}; neither was he able to give him any farther answ^r. when the Earle's owne men had forsaken him. Your Ma^{tie}, in youre heavenly nature, may be moved with this great example humanæ fragilitatis, but I hope you shall not heere off any dangerous consequence thereof to your servis. I feare nott his cuntrye, though itt wear all oute, for neither the place nor people have any great strengthe; but my mynde doth labor wth the estate off no province more then off Conaught: but God prosper youre armye this sum^{er}, and theas plantations, nowe, and then, I hope itt, will be in your power, either to bowe or to breake the crooked humors of theas people; and God make me able to do your deere and royal Ma^{tie} the servis I desyre.

2 April, 1600.

Your Ma^{tie}'s truest servant,

E. MOUNTJOYE."

To her sacred Majesté.

A detail of the occurrences of this war, after it fell under the direction of Montjoy, is properly matter for the historian, suffice it therefore to say that, after two campaigns of uninterrupted success, he terminated it by a most decisive victory, in the neighbourhood of Kinsale, over the largest army ever brought into the field by the insurgents, aided too by between six and seven thousand Spanish troops. O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the great chieftain of the rebellion, soon after surrendered on certain conditions of a distant pardon, one of which, it is curious to observe, was that he

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

should present himself to the Lord Deputy on his knees. Montjoy led him afterwards a prisoner to London, but it was to grace the triumph of a new Sovereign, for Elizabeth, in consonance with her prediction, was on her death-bed when Tyrone made his formal submission in Ireland.

James's first care on his arrival in England was to reward the eminent services of Montjoy. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1603, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; within a few days sworn of the Privy Council; and, on the twenty-first of July, created Earl of Devonshire. The appointments of Master of the Ordnance, and Warden of the New Forest, were soon after conferred on him; and to these were added grants of the estate of Kingston Hall, in Dorsetshire; of the county of Lecal, together with a reversion of other valuable lands in Ireland; and of an ample pension from the Crown, to him and his heirs for ever. He came to England not long after the King's accession, for we are told that he was one of the Peers present at the arraignment of Raleigh in the following November; nor does he appear after that period to have resided much in his government, which indeed his late eminent services had rendered in great measure a sinecure. In 1604 he was one of the five commissioners to treat in London of a peace between England and Spain; and here it may be proper to account for some singularity in the appearance of the portrait prefixed to this memoir by observing that the very curious picture from which it is taken represents those five ministers, in conference with six Spanish nobleman, all seated on armed chairs, and ranged in exact order of rank at the opposite sides of a long table. At the foot of the picture appear the names of the eleven negotiators, with marks of reference to their several portraits, which, if we may judge from the success which the artist has displayed in depicting those heads among them which are familiar to us, may be presumed to exhibit the most lively resemblances. The inscription which refers to the portrait of the Earl is "Carlos, C^{de} de Denshier, Vi^{re}y de Irlanda."

Apparently endowed now with all the choicest gifts of good fortune, this accomplished man pined secretly under the oppression of a domestic misery which a high sense of honour, and a tone of mind acutely sensitive, combined to render intolerable. A mutual affection, contracted in early life and in the days of his necessity, with Penelope, eldest daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had gradually ripened into the most ardent love, and was privately sealed by an interchange of marriage vows. It is reasonable to suppose that a discovery produced the contest, too common in such cases, between what the world, with equal injustice, calls youthful folly and parental prudence. The lady was forced into a marriage with the wealthy Robert, Lord Rich, and a guilty connection between the lovers followed, which remained for some years unobserved. Lady Rich at length abandoned her husband, taking with her five children, whom she declared to be the issue of the Earl; who, on his part, amidst the fearful conflict of various and even contrary feelings, submitted to the impulse of those which till now had been chief ornaments of his character, and sullied the fair passions of love and pity by rendering them the instruments of insult to society, and of aggravation of the censure which fell on himself. He received her, with what mournful cordiality may easily be supposed; and, on her divorce from Lord Rich, which of course immediately followed, was married to her at Wansted, in Essex, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1605. Laud, who was then a young man, and the Earl's domestic chaplain, performed the nuptial ceremony, and a loud outcry was instantly raised against him by the puritans, and by his numerous polemical adversaries. The King also felt, or affected, the highest indignation, and Laud was for a time thought to have blasted all his views of preferment, by having thus sanctioned a connection so scandalous, but a severer fate, as well as the most exalted dignities, were in reserve for him.

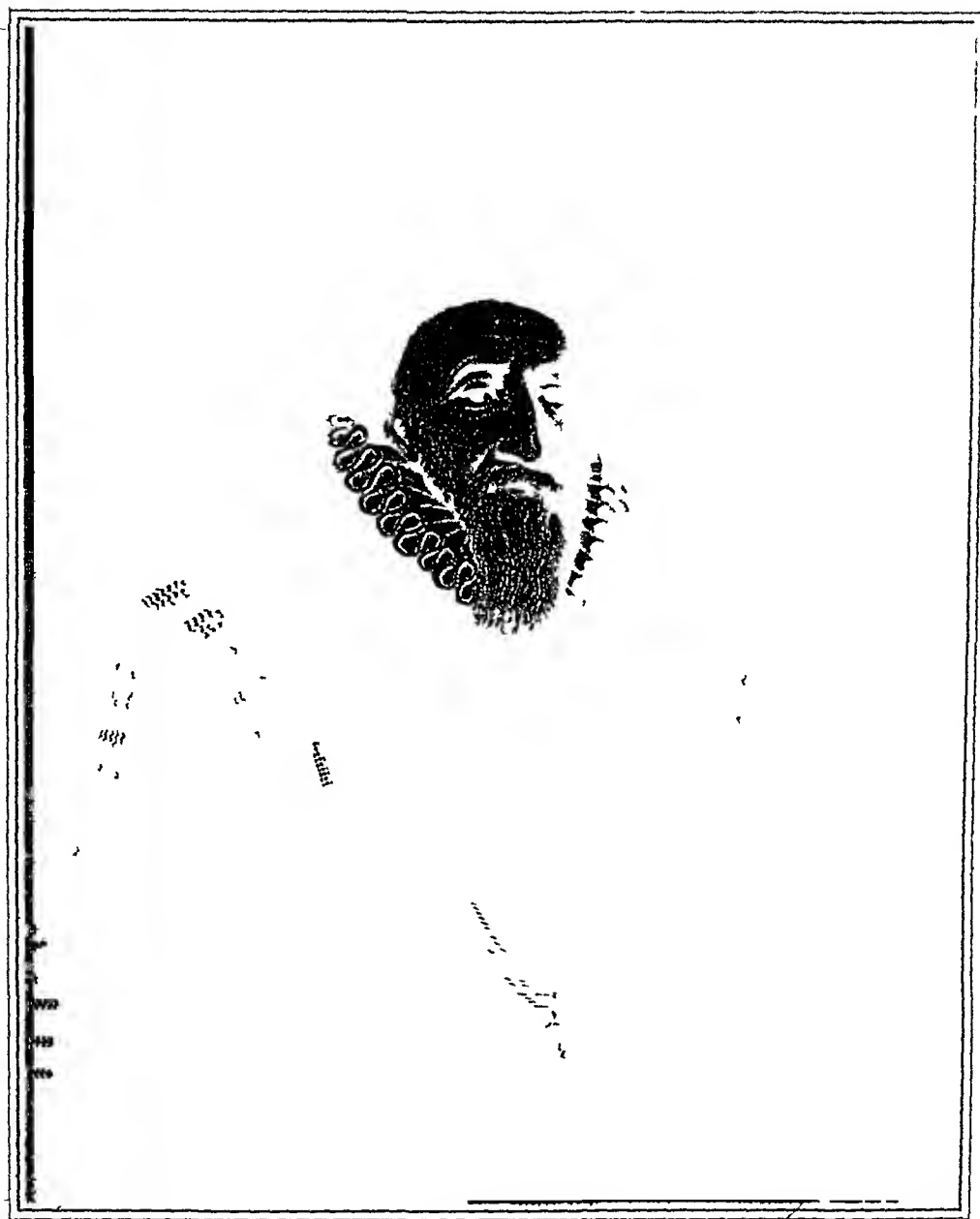
The Earl survived this wretched union but for a very few

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

months, and it has been even said that he sunk under the weight of the bitter public reflections which it had excited. 'He died on the third of April, 1606, and was buried with great pomp in St. Paul's chapel, in Westminster Abbey. Fynes Morrison, who had been his secretary in Ireland, tells us, in his "Travels," a book not much known, to which I am obliged for some of the foregoing particulars, that "grief of unsuccessful love brought him to his last end;" but Mr. Chamberlaine, in a letter to Secretary Winwood, of the fifth of April, 1606, seasoning his news with a severity scarcely reasonable, says—"the Earl of Devonshire left this life on Thursday night last, soon and early for his years, but late enough for himself, and happy had he been if he had gone two or three years since, before the world was weary of him, or that he had left that scandal behind him. He was not long sick past eight or ten days, and died of a burning fever, and putrefaction of his lungs, a defect he never complained of. He hath left his lady, (for so she is now generally held to be,) fifteen hundred pounds a year, and most of his moveables; and of five children that she fathered upon him at the parting from her former husband, I do not hear that he provided for more than three; leaving to the eldest son, I hear, between three and four thousand pounds a year; and to a daughter six thousand pounds in money."

Whatever might have been the extent of the public resentment of the Earl's private conduct in this unhappy instance, the royal family seem to have not long partaken in it, for the "eldest son," mentioned by Chamberlaine, who was called Montjoy Blount, was created by James, Baron Montjoy, of Montjoy Fort, in Ireland; and was advanced by Charles the first to the English dignity of Earl of Newport, in the Isle of Wight; titles which, having passed successively through his three sons, became extinct in Henry Blount, the youngest, in 1681.

In Dr. Birch's collection, in the British Museum, is a manuscript, of twenty-eight closely penned pages, with the title of "A



Engraved by Tho^s Wright

THOMAS SACKVILLE, EARL OF DORSET

OB 1608

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE LATE DUKE OF DORSET

London, Published June 1. 1829 by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

EARL OF DORSET.

THERE is little chance that the story of this eminent person should ever be well told, for the narrator ought to possess the rare advantages of a mind somewhat like his own. The grave and minute annalist, and the sober recorder of family history, are seldom qualified even to discern the lofty track, still less to follow the rapid course, of genius; while those whose happy fancies can create and people new worlds, look down with disdain on the dull round of human affairs. Sackville was the first poet, and one of the first statesmen, of his time, and the biographer who would profess to celebrate his fame with justice should be at once a poet and a historian, a politician and a critic.

He was the only son of Sir Richard Sackville, a lineal descendant of one of the Norman band which accompanied William the Conqueror to England; Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation under Edward the sixth, and in the two following reigns, and a Privy Counsellor to Mary and Elizabeth, the last of whom he served also in the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This gentleman was nearly related to Elizabeth, for he was first cousin, by his mother, to Anne Boleyn, and that circumstance, which many years before had introduced him at the court, peculiarly recommended him to the favour of her daughter. His first wife was Winifred, daughter of Sir John Bruges, a wealthy Alderman of London, and Thomas Sackville, the subject of this memoir, was the sole issue of their marriage. He was born in 1536, at Buckhurst, in the parish of Withiam, in Sussex, where his family had long been seated, and was educated both at Oxford and Cambridge, in the latter of which Universities he took the degree of Master of Arts. He removed from thence to the Inner Temple,

where, according to the custom of young men of rank in his time, he studied the law, with no view of making it his profession, but as a necessary part of a gentleman's breeding, and was called to the bar, soon after which he became a member of the House of Commons. He had been already for some years distinguished as a poet, of which however I shall say little at present, and is supposed to have composed many small pieces in English, as well as in Latin verse, of which, being probably mingled with those of others, or in some instances, totally lost, we are now nearly ignorant. We know that those poems on which his fame so justly rests were written before he had reached the twenty-fifth year of his age, and we know not that he wrote any thing afterwards.

About that period he married, and soon after travelled through France and Italy, from whence he returned in 1566, on receiving at Rome the news of his father's death, and, on the eighth of June in that year, he was advanced by Elizabeth to the peerage, by the title of Lord Buckhurst. His father, in addition to a fine inheritance, was so well known to have amassed immense wealth that it was usual, by a vulgar anagram, to call him "Fill Sack." The son, who had been before very profuse, which probably occasioned his going abroad at an unusual time of life, became now extravagant beyond all bounds, and soon fell into considerable difficulties. He is said to have been reclaimed by Elizabeth's wholesome advice; but Fuller tells us, and there is nothing improbable in the tale, that "happening to call on an Alderman of London, who had gained great pennyworths by former purchases of him, he was made to wait so long, that his generous humour, being sensible of the incivility of such attendance, resolved to be no more beholden to wealthy pride, and presently turned a thrifty improver of the remainder of his estate" Certain it is, whatever might have been the cause, that he suddenly changed his imprudence for a magnificent economy, which never after forsook him. The Queen, who either really loved her kindred, or highly countenanced them from a proud respect to herself, took him into

EARL OF DORSET.

considerable personal favour, though she conferred on him no permanent employment, either in her government or household, for many years. She sent him on an embassy to Paris in 1570, to congratulate Charles the ninth on his nuptials, and to treat of the marriage then proposed between herself and the Duke of Anjou, brother to that Prince, appointed him one of the Commissioners for the trial, and committed to him the miserable office of superintending the execution, of Mary Queen of Scots; and in 1587 intrusted to him, in the character of her Ambassador extraordinary to the United States, the difficult duty of hearing and composing their complaints against the Earl of Leicester, his honesty in the performance of which drew on him the vengeance of that favourite, through whose influence the Queen was induced to recall him, and to place him in confinement in his own house, where he remained a prisoner for nine or ten months, during which he never saw his wife, or children.

If Elizabeth by any act of imprudence ever placed herself in the power of another, Leicester was the man. Haughty, furious, and unfeeling as she was, her submission to his will, even when opposite to her own, was invariable; and her conduct at this time towards Lord Buckhurst affords a curious proof of it. Leicester died in September, 1588: Sackville was immediately released: in the April following he was named, without his knowledge, a Knight of the Garter; and in the course of that and the succeeding year, was employed in several services which required the strictest fidelity, among which the affairs of the United Provinces were peculiarly committed to his charge. In 1591 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in opposition to the favoured Essex, and that through the especial interference of the Queen herself, who some months after honoured him with a visit there. In 1598 he was selected to treat of a peace with Spain, and on the fifteenth of May in that year was raised to the office of High Treasurer, on the death of Burghley. On the occasion of Essex's wild insurrection he distinguished

himself as much by his humanity as his wisdom; warned the unhappy Earl in time, with the kindness of a private friend, of the danger of his courses; and presided as Lord High Steward on his trial, with the strictest impartiality. The office of Earl Marshal becoming vacant by Essex's death, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for performing the duties of it. Elizabeth died soon after.

His patent for the office of Lord Treasurer was renewed by James, even before that Prince quitted Scotland; the choice of the principal servants of the Crown was in a great measure intrusted to him; and on the thirteenth of the March following the King's accession he was created Earl of Dorset. The faculties of his high office soon became strangely changed. In the late reign the main occupation of the chief Minister of finance was to dispose properly of the means which had arisen from natural and simple resources, well chosen, and well husbanded; in this to devise extraordinary methods to replenish a treasury exhausted by the most absurd profusion. The circumstances of Dorset's private life somewhat qualified him for acting in either situation with more ease than most men, but that he should have possessed in each the unvaried good opinion not only of his Sovereigns, but of his compeers, and of the people, can be ascribed only to a rare perfection both of head and heart. The two following letters, which were placed a few years since by me in a *Life of Sir Julius Cæsar*, who acted under him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, may be considered as great curiosities, for the lively light which they throw on a part of the character of Sackville's mind, independently of the striking proof afforded by them of the financial distress of that reign; nor are they less estimable as specimens of his epistolary composition, especially since Naunton has informed us that "his secretaries did little for him by the way of inditement, wherein they could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrase and style." These letters were written to Sir Julius by the Earl's own hand.

EARL OF DORSET.

“ I have just sined your 2 orders, and do gretely thank you for delivering my most humble thankes to his Ma^{tie}. As for clamors for monies when ther is no meanes to pay, that is news to you, but not to me. I know not, nor no man erthly knows, any other remedy but to aunswer them that they must tary til it come in. As for any ordinaries coming in, Sir Vincent Skinner can alwaies tell you far better than I, for he was alwaies my inforrmer; and as for extraordinaries, I know of none but this of the tinne. That can go neither forward nor backwards by my presens. I have left full ordre with M^r Attorney, and Sir Rich. Smith, to expedite the same; but the delivery of the tinne at London, and in Cornwale, in my opinion will not be done thies 20 daies yet. As to my coming to London, I know not a halfpenny of help that I can give you therby, if I were fit, or able; and I thank humbly his Ma^{tie} he hath geven me credit to seke to recover my helth, w^{ch} I desier to do for his serves; but God doth know that I have yet found a small beginning of recovery, and do leave all to God’s mercies, knowing, that only time, aier, and free from business, must help this rooted cold and cough of mine, so fast fixed in me.

So I rest, ever your most assured friend,

HORSLEY,
31 May, 1607

T. DORSET.”

He concludes, a few days after, in the following terms a very long letter on the preemption of tin by the Crown; an unpopular, but not new project, in which James’s ministers were then busily employed, and which is alluded to in the preceding. The letter has no date, but is indorsed by Sir Julius Cæsar, “9 Junii, 1607.”

“ Now, Mr. Chauncellor, touching your lamentacõn of the clamors and sutes that are daily made to you for money, and how grevous it is unto you, and therefore desier my help and advise what you shold do, I can say but this, that true fortitude is never daunted, and truth ought never to be either afraid or ashamed.

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

You may truly aunswer them that the king's detts, his subsidies, his rents, his revenues, notwithstanding all the meanes for levieng of them that possibly may be devised, ar not paid, but pecemele come in, with grete difficulty; and how can the king's ma^{tie} pay that w^{ch} he owes, when that which is owing to him is unpaied? Besides his ma^{tie} hath brought wth him an increse of a most comfortable charge; as of a quene, the king's wief; a prince; and other his most royall progeny. Thes ar comfortable charges, and all good subjects must help willinglie to beare the burden therof.—That the King of Spaine himself, that hath so many Indian gold and silver mines to help him, doth yet leave his detts many times unpaied, upon accidents that happen.—That the king's ma^{tie}, and his counsell, do not neglect to devise all possible meanes and waies to bring in monies and do not dout, within convenient time, though sodenly it cannot be doon, to procure good helpes towards satisfaction of the dettes.—That alredy he hath assined a good part of his subsidy to discharge the same.—That no labours shall be spared to effect the same: in the meane while they must have paciens, and be content.—That as the king's revenues do come in, so they shall have part and part among them; for one must not have all, and the rest nothing. These, and such like, are true aunswers, and ought, and must satisfie, and these you must not be afraid to geve; and such as will not be satisfied with thes ar men without dutie or reson; therefore no great matter though they be unsatisfyed.

“ Now, Mr. Chauncellor, if 3 weekes be so grevous unto you, what will you think of my greif that in this kind have indured the greif of 3 yeres? But let this be your last and chiefest comfort—that we have a most roiall, rare, and most gracious king, for whom we can never speke to much, nor do sufficient, though we expend our lieves, lands, and goods, and all that we have, in this servis. I have told you that I will bend all my indevours to bring in monies, which also must have it's due time for sodenly you may not expect it: p^rfering you therefore that

EARL OF DORSET.

w^{ch} now ap[~]taineth to you, and, by the grace of God, you shall see that I will so laboriously, and I hope so effectually, procede in the other, as you shall have comfort, and I my hartie contentation, that I may do some acceptable servis to so gracious a sovereign.

Yo[~]r most assured frend,

T. DORSET."

Such was his vivacity in the seventy-second year of his age, and when labouring under the greatest infirmity of body, which is somewhat singularly confirmed by a passage in his most remarkable will, referring to the very date of the last of these letters. After having ordained, at great length, and with the utmost preciseness of diction that caution could suggest, that four certain jewels should be preserved for ever in his family, as heir looms, he proceeds to state his motives for so highly valuing them ; and, having exactly described the first which he names, adds—" and, to the intent that they (his heirs male) may knowe howe just and great cause both they and I have to hould the sayed rynge with twentie diamonds in so highe esteeme, yt is most requisite that I do here set downe the whole course and circumstance howe, and from whome the same rynge did come to my possession, which was this. In the beginning of the monethe of June, one thousand sixe hundred and seaven, this rynge thus sett with twenty diamondes, as ys aforesaid, was sent unto me from my most gracious sovereigne King James, by that honorable personage the Lord Haye, one of the gentlemen of his highness' bedchamber, the courte then being at Whitehall, in London, and I at that time remayning at Horseley House, in Surrey, twentie miles from London, where I laye in such extremitie of sickness as yt was a common and a constant reporte all over London that I was dead, and the same confidentlie affirmed unto the kinge's highnes himself: upon which occasion yt pleased his most excellent majestie, in token of his gracious goodness and great favoure towards me, to send the said Lord Haye with the ringe, and

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

this royall message unto me, namelie—that his highness wished a speedie and a perfect recovery of my healthe, with all happie and good successe unto me, and that I might live as long as the dyamonds of that ryng (which therewithall he delivered unto me) did endure; and, in token thereof, required me to weare yt, and keep it for his sake. This most gracious and comfortable message restored a new life unto me, as coming from so renowned and benigne a sovereigne unto a servaunte so farre unworthie of of so great a favour,” &c.

He recovered his health sufficiently to return to London, and to attend to the more important concerns of his office, and in August made the will of which I have spoken. He survived, however, till the nineteenth of the following April, when he expired in an instant, as he sat at the council table, surrounded by the chief officers of the state, and in the presence of the king. “On opening his head,” says Sir Richard Baker, “they found in it certain little bags of water, which, falling upon his brain, caused his death;” but his constitution had been completely broken by his previous illness, though his mind retained it’s pristine vigour to his last moment. Perhaps it may not be too much to affirm of him that he possessed, together with the brightest genius, and an understanding abundantly solid and useful, the highest honour, the strictest integrity, and the most undoubted loyalty, that could be found among the great public men of his time

Sackville’s poetical talents have always been regarded by a few in whom a just feeling has been united to a just judgment, with a degree of respect amounting nearly to reverence: to others they are almost wholly unknown. That fashion, however, if I may presume to use so light a term, which has of late so widely diffused itself, of collecting the scattered and forgotten English poesy of former ages may probably place him in his proper rank in general reputation. Those whom nature has qualified to appreciate truly his genius will express their wonder at the neglect

which it has experienced, and ignorant affectation will spread his fame, by repeating the lessons it will catch by rote from legitimate taste. Yet Sackville will not delight the multitude of the present time. His very perfections will prevent it. The truth and simplicity of his designs; his stern and solemn morality, the awful grandeur of his imagery; will have no charms for those who can hang in rapture over the bald and tedious ballad monotonies, and the fierce and mysterious rhapsodies, from which the poets of our day derive the laurel. But the scope of these sketches, especially as I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting a specimen of his muse, forbids any lengthened discussion of her merits. Suffice it therefore to say, that Lord Orford thought it probable that "to the boldness of Buckhurst's scenes we might owe Shakespeare;" and that Wharton has given him the credit of teaching to Spenser the method of designing allegorical personages. His works were the tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex*, called in a later edition "*Gorboduc*;" the "*Induction*," (or poetical preface) to the series of legendary tales, by several hands, of unfortunate princes, and other great men, intitled "*The Mirror for Magistrates*;" together with the "*Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham*," which are the chief ornaments to that collection. *Gorboduc*, in which it has been improbably said that he was assisted by Thomas Norton, a contemporary poet of small distinction, amidst several of the imperfections of a bold experiment, has the merits of being the first attempt made in this country to chase from the stage the devout mummeries of its infancy, and of having introduced into dramatic composition a dignity and perspicuity of style, and a strength of reflection, to which it had before been wholly unaccustomed. His greater work shall speak for itself, in an extract from the *Induction*, which some may think too long, and which others will wish had been yet further extended.—The poet is led by sorrow, exquisitely personified, to the utmost extent of the infernal regions, where the mighty unfortunates are to pass him in review, and to recount their

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

respective histories. On his way he encounters the following griesly inmates of the vast prison.

And first, within the porch and jawes of hell,
Sate deep Remorse of conscience, all besrent
With teares, and to herself oft would she tell
Her wretchednesse, and, cursing, never stent
To sob and sigh, but ever thus lament,
 With thoughtfull care, as she that all in vaine
 Would weare and waste continually in paine

Her eyes, unstedfast rolling here and there,
Whurl'd on each place, as place that vengeance brought :
So was her mind continually in feare,
Tossed and tormented with tedious thought
Of those detested crimes which she had wrought
 With dreadfull cheere, and lookes throwne to the skie,
 Wishing for death, and yet she could not die

Next saw we Dread—all trembling how he shooke '
With foote uncertaine, profered here and there,
Benum'd of speech, and, with a ghastly looke,
Searcht every place, all pale, and dead for feare,
His cap borne up with staring of his heare
 Soyn'd and amaz'd at his own shade for dreed,
 And fearing greate dangers then was need

And next, within the entrie of this lake,
Sate fell Revenge, gnashing her teeth for ire,
Devising meanes how she may vengeance take,
Never in rest till she have her desire,
But frets within so far forth with the fire
 Of wreaking flames, that now determines she
 To die by death, or veng'd by death to be

When fell Revenge, with bloudie foule pretence,
Had shew'd herselfe as next in order set,
With trembling limbes we softly parted thence,
Till in our eyes another sight we met
When from my heart a sigh forthwith I fet,

EARL OF DORSET.

Ruing alas ¹ upon the wofull plight
Of Miserie, that next appear'd in sight.

His face was leane, and some deale pin'd away,
And eke his hands consumed to the bone:
But what his body was I cannot say,
For on his carkas raymente had he none,
Save clouts and patches, pieced one by one.
 With staffe in hand, and scrip on shoulder cast,
His chief defence against the winter's blast.

His food for most was wilde fruits of the tree,
Unlesse sometime some crums fell to his share,
Which in his wallet long, God wot, kept he,
As one the which full daintily would faire
His drinke the running stream, his cup the bare
 Of his palm closde, his bed the hard cold ground
To this poore life was Miserie ybound

Whose wretched state when we had well beheld,
With tender ruth on him, and on his feeres,
In thoughtfull cares forth then our pace we held
And by and by another shape appeares,
Of greedie Care, still brushing up the breers,
 His knuckles knob'd, his flesh deepe dented in,
With tawed hands, and hard ytanned skin

The morrow gray no sooner hath begun
To spread his light, even peeping in our eyes,
When he is up, and to his worke yrun.
But let the night's blacke mistie mantles rise,
And with foule darke never so much disguise
 The faine bright day, yet ceaseth he no while,
But hath his candles to prolong his toile.

By him lay heavie Sleepe, cosin of Death,
Flat on the ground, and still as any stone,
A very corps, save yeelding forth a breath.
Small keepe tooke he whom Fortune frowned on,
Or whom she lifted up into the throne
 Of high renown, but, as a living death,
So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

The bodies rest ; the quiet of the heart ,
The travailes ease , the still night's feere was he :
And of our life in earth the better part ;
Rever of sight, and yet in whom we see
Things oft that tide, and oft that never bee.

Without respect esteeming equally
King Croesus' pompe, and Irus' povertie.

And next in order sad Old Age we found :
His beard all hore, his eyes hollow and blind ,
With drouping cheere still poring on the ground,
As on the place where nature him assign'd
To rest, when that the Sisters had untwin'd
His vital thred, and ended with their knife
The fleeting course of fast declining life

There heard we him, with broke and hollow plaint,
Rue with himselfe his end approaching fast ,
And all for nought his wretched mind torment
With sweete remembrance of his pleasures past,
And fresh delites of lustie youth forewast .
Recounting which, how would he sob and shreek
And to be yong again of Jove beseeke

But, and the cruel fates so fixed be
That time forepast cannot returne again,
This one request of Jove yet prayed he—
That in such withred plight, and wretched paine,
As eld (accompanied with loathsome traine)
Had brought on him, all were it woe and grieve,
He might a while yet linger forth his life ,

And not so soone destend into the pit
Where Death, when he the mortall corps hath slaine,
With wretchlesse hand in grave doth cover it,
Theierafter never to enjoy againe
The gladsome light, but, in the ground ylaïne,
In depth of darknesse, waste, and weare, to nought,
As he had nere into the world been brought

But who had seene him, sobbing how he stood
Unto himselfe, and how he would bemone
His youth forepast, as though it wrought him good

EARL OF DORSET.

To talke of youth all were his youth forgone,
He would have musde and marvail'd much whereon
This wretched Age should life desire so faine,
And knows ful wel life doth but length his paine.

Crookebackt he was, toothshaken, and blere eyde ,
Went on three feete, and sometime crept on foure ;
With old lame bones that rattled by his side ,
His sealpe all pil'd, and he with eld forlore ,
His withred fist still knocking at Death's dore ,
Fumbling, and drivelng, as he draws his breath,
For briefe, the shape and messenger of Death.

And fast by him pale Maladie was plaste,
Sore sieke in bed, her colour all forgone ;
Bereft of stomacke, savour, and of taste .
Ne could she brooke no meate, but broths alone
Her breath corrupt , her keepers every one
Abhorring her , her sieknesse past recure ;
Detesting physieke, and all physicke's cure.

But oh the doleful sight that then we see¹
We turn'd our looke, and, on the other side,
A griesly shape of Famine mought we see,
With greedie lookes, and gaping mouth, that cried
And roared for meate as she should there have died.
Her bodie thin, and bare as any bone,
Whereto was left nought but the case alone

And that, alas¹ was gnawne on every where
All full of holes, that I ne mought refraine
From teares to see how she her arms could teare,
And with her teeth gnash on the bones in vaine,
When all for nought she faine would so sustaine
Her starven corps, that rather seemed a shade
Than any substance of a creature made

Great was her force whom stone wall could not stay
Her tearing nailes, snatchng at all she saw ,
With gaping jawes that by no meanes ymay
Be satisfied from hunger of her mawe,
But eates herselfe, as she that hath no law

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

Gnawing alas ! her carcase all in vaine,
Where you may count each sinew, bone, and vaine.

On her while we thus firmly fixt our eyes,
That bled for ruth of such a driery sight,
Loe suddenly she shrunkt (*shrickt*) in so huge wise
As made hell gates to shiver with the might
Wherewith a dart we saw how it did light
Right on her brest, and, therewithall, pale Death
Enthrilling it, to reave her of her breath.

And by and by a dumbe dead corps we saw,
Heavie, and cold, the shape of death aright,
That dants all earthly creatures to his law ;
Against whose force in vaine it is to fight
Ne Peers, ne Princes, nor no mortall wight,
No Towne, ne Realmes, Cities, ne strongest Tower,
But all perforce must yeeld unto his power

His dart anon out of the corps he tooke,
And in his hand, a dreadfull sight to see '
With triumph eftsoones the same he shooke,
That, most of all my feares, affrayed me
His bodie dight with nought but bones, per die
The naked shape of man then saw I plaine,
All, save the flesh, the sinow, and the vaine

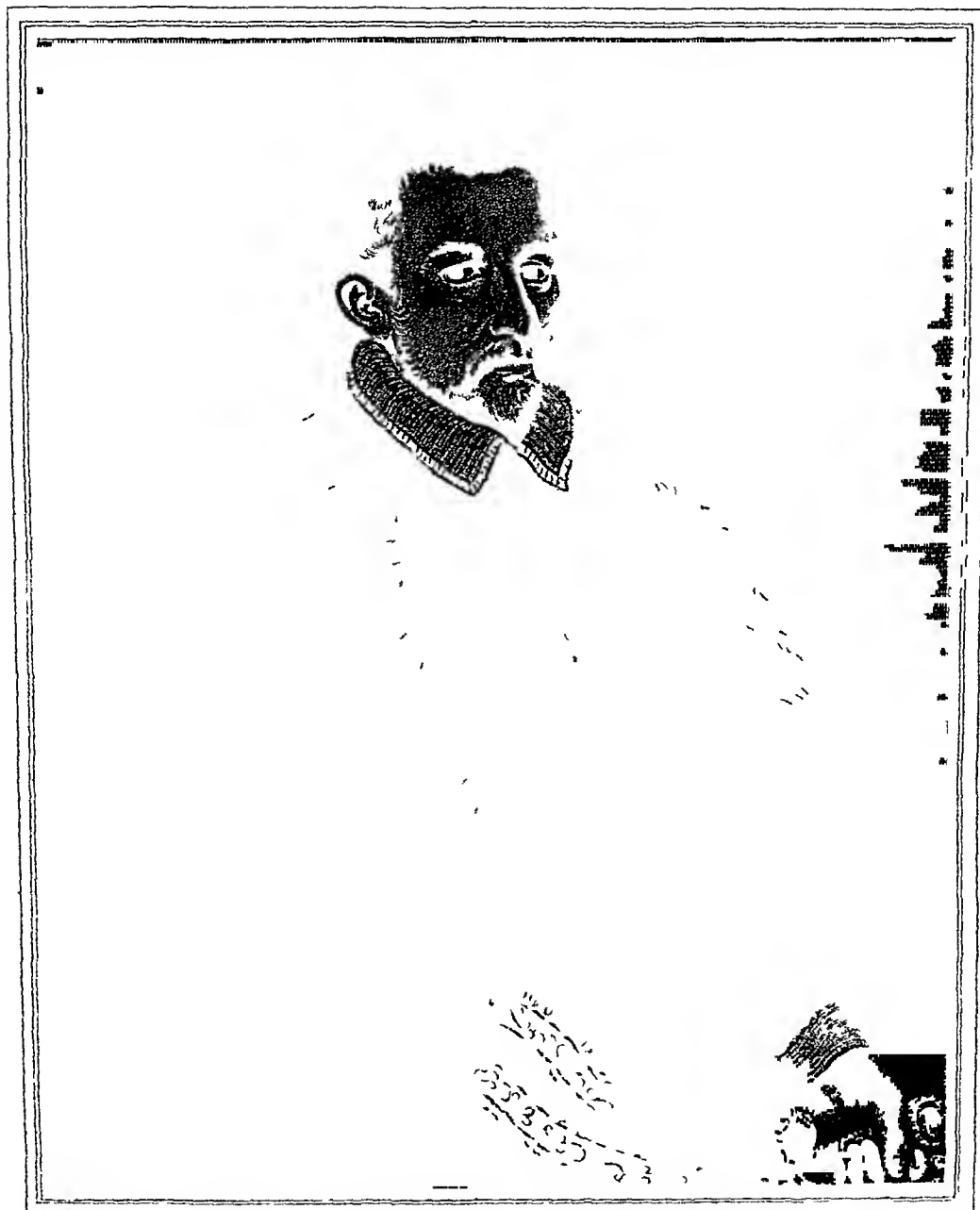
Lastly stood Warre , in glittering arms yclad,
With visage grim, sterne looks, and blackely hewed
In his right hand a naked sword he had,
That to the hilts was all with blood embrued ,
And in his left that Kings and Kingdomes rued,
Famine and fire he held, and there withall
He raced townes, and threw downe towers and all.

Cities he sackt, and Realmes that whilome flowred
In honour, glorie, and rule above the best
He overwhelmed, and all their fame devoured ,
Consumed, destroyed, 'wasted, and never ceast,
Till he their wealth, their name, and all, opprest
His face forehew'd with wounds, and by his side
There hung his targ, with gashes deepe and wide.

EARL OF DORSET.

In midst of which depainted there we found
Deadly Debate, all full of snakie heare,
That with a bloodie fillet was ybound,
Out breathing nought but discord every where
And round about were portraid heere and there
The hugie hosts , Darius, and his power ,
His Kings, Princes, his Peeres, and all his flower

This great man married Cicely, daughter of Sir John Baker, of Sittinghurst Castle, in Kent, by whom he had three sons ; Robert, his successor ; William, who was knighted in France, in 1591, by Henry the great, at the age of nineteen, and fell in battle there two years after ; and Thomas, who was also distinguished as a military man : and three daughters ; Anne, wife of Sir Thomas Glemham, of Glemham, in Suffolk ; Jane, married to Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague ; and Mary, to Sir Henry Neville, son, and successor, to Edward, Lord Abergavenny.



Engraved by J. H. Mote

SIR THOMAS BODLEY

OB 1612

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF COMTE DE JANSSEN IN THE

BODLEYAN GALLERY OXFORD

SIR THOMAS BODLEY.

It is a proud reflection for the lovers of literature that the name of this eminent person should scarcely be known but as that of one of its most zealous cultivators—that Europe should ring, as it ever will, with the fame of that prodigious treasure which it owes to his learning, his diligence, and his munificence, and that it should be nearly forgotten, even in his own country, that he was any other-wise distinguished. Such is the triumph of immutable principle over fleeting habit; of wisdom over cunning; of the judgment over the passions. In our admiration of the retired collector of a library, we have ceased to remember that his counsels once guided the decisions of Sovereigns, and poised the fate of nations. Sir Thomas Bodley was a statesman of the first order, in merit, if not in place; and it will therefore be the object of these pages rather to recall to memory the circumstances of his political life, than to recapitulate minutely the history of that immortal foundation which is already so closely connected with his very name, that while we remember the one, we cannot forget the other.

He was descended from a respectable family, though of no great antiquity, in Devonshire, and was the eldest of the three sons of John Bodley; of Exeter, in which city he was born on the second of March, 1544, by Joan, daughter of Robert Hone, of Ottery St. Mary, in the same county. The persecution under Queen Mary compelled his father, who was a zealous reformer, to seek refuge in a foreign country; and, after some wandering, he settled his family, about the year 1556, at Geneva, and in the University then newly established there his son Thomas commenced his education under teachers of the highest eminence. In some short notices of his life, written by himself, which, together with a few other matters

relative to him, were published in 1703, in an octavo volume, now rather scarce, by the antiquary Thomas Hearne, under the title of "*Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*," he informs us that he was taught Hebrew by Chevalier, and Greek by Beroald and Constantine; and, in particular, that he studied divinity under Calvin and Beza. He returned to England immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, full of learning, and of affection for the Protestant persuasion, and became a student of Magdalen College, in Oxford, where, in 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and became probationer of Merton College, of which house in the ensuing year he was admitted fellow. In 1565 he read a Greek lecture in the hall of that College; in 1566, obtained the degree of Master of Arts, and read the lecture on natural philosophy in the Schools: and in 1569 was elected one of the Proctors, and undertook the office of University Orator, which he exercised for several years. He remained at Oxford till 1576, when he set out to visit the continent. Thus the first eighteen years of Bodley's manhood were purely academical, and hence that latent affection and gratitude to the university, conceived in the warmth of youth, and matured by the reflection of riper age, which burst forth with renewed vigour towards the conclusion of his life. That those sentiments were for a while suspended is evident from his own account; "In 1576," says he, "I waxed desirous to travel beyond the seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern tongues, and for the increase of my experience in the managing of affairs; being wholly then addicted to employ myself, and all my cares, in the service of the State." He passed nearly four years in a slow and inquisitive journey through France, Germany, and Italy, and returned to his college to connect and systematize his observations by reading the best authors on History and Politics. In 1583 he was introduced, we know not by what means, at the Court, and was appointed a Gentleman Usher, or, according to Antony Wood, an Esquire of the Body, to Queen Elizabeth: He soon after married Anne, daughter of a Mr. Carey, of Bristol, and the rich widow,

says the author just now mentioned, for we have it only on his authority, of some person of the name of Ball.

It was Elizabeth's habit to seek for political ability through all ranks of her servants, and to try their talents and their fidelity in minor embassies. Bodley attracted her notice, and she dispatched him in 1586 on a circular mission to Frederic King of Denmark, and to the German Princes of the Protestant persuasion, to urge them to aid her endeavours in favour of the French Huguenots, then headed by the great Henry King of Navarre. He acquitted himself in this employment so much to her satisfaction, that she appointed him, immediately after his return, to another, not only of a nature almost wholly different, but which required a far greater measure of dexterity and delicacy. Henry the Third of France, the declared patron of the Papal interest in his realm, had been driven from his capital by that memorable party led by the Duke of Guise, which had named itself the Holy League, and which, with the usual detestable affectation of faction, had professed to unite for his defence and protection in that character. To him was Bodley sent with such extreme caution and secresy, that he was not permitted, as he informs us, to take with him even a single servant, nor any other letters than such as were written by the Queen's own hand. "The effect," says he, "of that message it is fit that I should conceal; but it tended greatly to the advantage of all the Protestants in France, and to the Duke's overthrow, which also followed soon upon it."

Elizabeth, having thus proved his worth, nominated him, in 1588, her resident minister at the Hague, a station then at the head of English diplomacy, the United Provinces being, from well-known historical circumstances, the theatre on which the political combat between her, and her great rival Philip of Spain, might be fought with the best prospect of success. In order to preserve her ascendancy there he was admitted, according to a stipulation insisted on by Elizabeth before his departure, a member of their Council of State, in the sittings of which he placed himself, by her

order, next to Count Maurice of Nassau. He enjoyed in this mission her perfect confidence. "After the Queen," says he, "had had some experience of my conduct there, from that time forward I did never almost receive any set instructions how to govern my proceedings in her Majesty's occasions, but the carriage, in a manner, of all her affairs was left to me, and my discretion." Of the zeal, as well as the wisdom, with which he managed those affairs, we have a noble instance in a letter in the Harleian Collection, (No. 278, p. 190,) hitherto unpublished, the great length of which obliges me, though with much reluctance, to content myself with giving a few extracts from it. It is indorsed by himself, "Project of a Letter which I proposed to send to the Emperor's Ambassadors ; Nov. 1591," and affords perhaps the finest example extant of the frank and masculine spirit which then guided the policy of England, not to mention the very singular coincidence of the public circumstances to which it alludes with those of the time in which we have the misfortune to live.

"Having lately understood," he begins, "as well by those letters which yow have written to the States, and to your friendes in these contreis, as by divers other meanes of assured intelligence, that yow determine very shortly to addresse yourselves to the-forsaide States, and in the name of the Emperor's Majestie to motion some agreement between them and the Spaniard, I have thought it very requisit, for discharge of my dewtie to my Sovereign Lady and Mistresse, the Queene's Majestie of England, who hath bin pleased to honour me with the place of her counsailor in this Counsaile of State, and for those principal respects which I beare, in all humilitie, to the Emperor's Majestie, between whom and my Soveraigne all offices of amitie have bin alwaies intertened, to prevent your comming hither with such advice as this place, and my fonction, will afford." He proceeds to remind the Austrian Ambassadors that the States, ten months before, had addressed to the Emperor, and to other Princes of the Germanic body, their earnest protest against such mediation : and then informs them that in the articles

between Elizabeth and the States, "it is a special point agreed that neither the general nor particular States of those provinces shall enter into treatie with the common enemie, the Spaniard, nor with any Prince or Potentat in his behalf, without the privitie or consent of the Queene's Majestie of England;" and that such article, above all others, was recommended most precisely to the charge of all Elizabeth's ministers, military as well as civil, in the United States, and most effectually set down in their oaths. That the States themselves undoubtedly entertained the same opinion and resolution. "Nevertheles," adds he, "as if we knewe not that intention of the forsaide States, we are thus much of ourselves to signifie from hens: That unless yow come autorised to this treaty of peace with the allowance and warrant of the Queen our mistresse, we must, all in generall, and every one in particular stand against yow, not only with good arguments of reason and persuasion, but with all the meanes that we can make, by any violence or force, to disturbe your attempts, and that without attending or expecting what the contrey shall resolve." After some apology for the sternness of this declaration, he proceeds to give his reasons why the States cannot hearken to any proposals for peace with Spain. "First, they say it is certaine, whatever is averred by others to the contrary, that the King of Spaine's disposition is wholly opposit to peace; and this is proved apparently by a common observation which is in every man's discourse—that there is noe warre at this day in any part of Christendome but is directly or indirectly, sturred and maintained by the King of Spaine. What example can be plainer than his present partaking in the kingdome of France? Where, without a just reason, be pretext of just occasion, he endevoureth to depose the right owner from his scepter, and all under collar of zeale and divotion to the Romishe religion. And, if that be all his cause, as his pretence is no other, would the Emperor's Majestie have this people to imagine that the King of Spaine can be pleased to permitte unto them over whom he clameth a right, and absolut autoritie, the use of

that religion for the extirpation wherof he poursueth a forraine Prince with all the actes of hostilitie that he can possibly practise? His purpose is too manifest: He mindes to make holyday with the States of these contreis till his maters in France succcede to his minde, and then his hope is undoubtedlie that not onely these Provinces united, but England, and Scotland, and every part of Germany, or of any other contrey that is different from him in religion, or disjoined by faction, shall aaccept of such lawes as he, for his benefit shall preseribe unto them."

Having stated much at large the repeated breaches of treaty, and the various deceptions practised by the King of Spain towards the United Provinces, he goes on—"But, besides the examples among themselves, they saw the other day in his dealing with England a most palpable patterne of Spanish falsehoode and deceate: For, even then, and at the same instant that his ministers were employed to persuade her Majestie to a peace, by proposing unto her verie plausible conditions, he armed a navy to the seas which, in his Lueifer's pride, he termed "Invincible," to make a conquest of her kingdome. But howe that wickednes was punished by the mightie hand of God it is knowen 'ere this to all the worlde, and it will be recorded to all posteritie. In effect," adds Bodley, after having cited other instances of treachery, "all his actions are directed by that most unchristian and barbarous maxime, that with an hereticke there is no faith to be observed; which infamous point of doctrine was most wickedly devised by the Pope, and Popish Princes, to serve their worldly turnes; distrusting, as it seemeth, the truth of their owne religion; as if God were not able (their cause being just, as they are persuaded, and their party being greater by many multitudes of people,) to uphold their estate without the breache of common faith. But if this be so maintained against heretickes in general, what application will be made by the King, and his favourers, against the heretickes of this contrey which have taken armes against him, have renounced his religion, solemnly deposed him by way of abjuration, and deli-

vered unto others the possession of his landes?" This very memorable letter concludes with the following expressions—
 “ Unless yow shewe for your comming the liking and permission of her Majestie, my Sovereigne, I must needes forewarne yow, as before, that as many of us as are heere of her Majestie’s subjects doe resolve to withstand yow, as perturburs of the amitie betweene her and the contrey; and, in that respect, every man, in his charge, will accomlishe the duties of his faith and obedience by forcing yow from hens: and, though I speake in this sorte very plainely and roundly, being bounde thereto by mine othe and allegiance, yet I rest out of doubt that your singular wisdomes will expounde my meaning to the best; and, being so well preadvertised of the strict alliance and contract between her Majestie and these contreis, will forbear upon it to goe forward with your voiage intended. But if it so fall out in truth, as in semblance is pretended, that the Kinge of Spaine, either weried with his warres, or reduced to extremity, or finding in continuance that God doth not prosper his dissembled proceeding, shall be willing now at length to speake as he thinketh, and to stipulate a firme and a durable peace, there is no other meanes to effect his purpose but by causing the like proffers of peace as are made to these provinces to be presented in like sorte to her Majestie of England, to the King in France, and to as many other Princes as sitte complainigē at the helme of the common cause, and runne in danger to be drowned in the bottomlesse gulph of the Spanish ambition. To this there is no doubt but the Kinge will condescend, if his minde and meaning be cleere and upright; and this is it which her Majesty, my Sovereigne, the States of these contreis, and every forraigne Potentat, will most willingly helpe forward with all the meanes of assistaunce that they can minister unto him.”

In this important station Bodley remained for nine years, making some occasional visits to his Court, in one of which, in 1595, he highly offended Elizabeth by some proposals which he brought from the States relative to their debts to her. “ I hear,” says he,

SIR THOMAS BODLEY.

in one of his several letters to Mr. Anthony Bacon, preserved in Dr. Birch's Memoirs, "for my comfort, that the Queen, on Monday last, did at the Court wish I had been hanged." He returned however soon after to the Hague, from whence he was not finally recalled, and then at his own earnest request, till 1597. He never held any other public employment. It was his misfortune, according to his own account, to be equally regarded both by Burghley and Essex, each of whom had frequently recommended him with much earnestness to Elizabeth for the place of Secretary of State, his appointment to which, through jealousy, was always thwarted by the other. Perhaps Elizabeth's dread of strengthening the party of Essex, who certainly was his warmest friend, was yet a stronger impediment. Be this as it may, he determined to retire from public life, and though frequently solicited by her, and by her successor, to accept of high and important offices in the State, abided by his resolution.

He had undoubtedly long entertained the noble design of restoring, or rather founding, the public library at Oxford, for he had scarcely found himself at home when he began to collect books for it with such zeal and avidity that, even before the end of that year, he had amassed a great treasure of general literature, and had formally communicated his intention to the University. Sensible, however, that the life, as well as the wealth, of any individual must fall far short of the accomplishment of the plan he had laid, he spared no pains in invoking the aid of the rich and the learned, and obtained vast contributions in money as well as in books. Many amusing instances of his anxieties, his doubts, his disappointments, and even his jealousies, with regard to these benefactions, may be found in *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, in a long series of his letters to Dr. William James, who was his chief agent in the collection, and the first person who had the office of keeper of the library after its final establishment. We meet in one of them with a curious proof of blameable vanity. Bodley was solicitous to conceal the assistance which he received from others, and thus

betrays that disposition which he awkwardly labours to dissemble —“ I am utterly against it that there should be any mention of their names and gifts that are the chiefest contributors to the library, for that few in that case would be willingly omitted, and the gift of the greatest is hardly worth publishing as a matter of much moment : besides that the number increaseth continually ; and, as I am persuaded, when those that are to come after shall see no likelihood of occasion to be honoured, as the former, by some public monument, it may slacken their devotion. And, as for myself, I am wholly uncertain how far I shall proceed in my expence about that work, having hitherto made no determinate design, but purposing to do as my ability shall afford, which may increase or diminish, and as God shall spare my life, although unto myself I do resolve in a general project to do more than I am willing to publish to the world. It may suffice, in my conceit, if the party employed in the answer to Weston shall but signify, in general, to what forwardness that work of so great a public benefit is already brought by my means, in special, and then by the aid of such of my honourable friends, and others, as in affection to me, and for the advancement of learning, have been moved to set their helping hand to it ; so as in time it is like, and perhaps very shortly, to be a most admirable ornament as well of the State as of the University, to the effecting whereof though so many men concur, yet the plotting and ordering of all things, and the bulk of all the burthen, for matter of cost, and otherwise, both hath and will be mine ; wherein, as I will not assume the deserts to myself of other men's bounties, so I would not that mine own, in a public memorial, should be lessened.”

Even before the end of the year 1599 the Bodleian Library had become, with the exception of the Vatican, perhaps the first public collection in Europe, and very soon after stood wholly unrivalled. James I., who really loved literature, gave a warrant under the Privy-seal to the founder for such books as he might choose to take from any of the Royal libraries, and the fashion set by the

Monarch was eagerly followed by his courtiers. The simple line of building which had formerly contained Duke Humphrey's Library, and which had already been repaired by Bodley, having been long insufficient to admit even a fourth part of his collection, he proposed to the University to convert it, at his own charge, into that noble quadrangle in which it now remains. The first stone of the new building was laid, with great formalities, on the nineteenth of July, 1610, but the founder did not live to see it completed. He had not neglected however to provide for it by his will, by which also he settled two hundred pounds annually on the library for ever, having previously composed, with great care and judgement, a large body of statutes for its government, the original of which, in his own hand writing, is preserved there, and has been long published, annexed to the Statutes of the University, and otherwise.

Sir Thomas Bodley, for he had been knighted by King James the First, on that Prince's accession, died, without issue, on the twenty-eighth of January, 1612, and lies buried at the head of the choir of Merton College Chapel, under a superb monument executed in the best taste of the time.



Engraved by J. C. G. W.

ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY

OB 1612

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZICCHIRO IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF SALISBURY

ROBERT CECIL,

EARL OF SALISBURY.

IF the father of this great man, the celebrated Lord Burghley, had never been a minister, the son might probably, and very justly, have been esteemed the most consummate statesman in Europe of his time. Their qualities however differed materially: the father was the wiser man: he loved to act alone, and the greatest measures of his administration may in most instances be traced to the decisions of his own intellect. A principle of moral right, seldom to be found in any who preceded or followed him, was always more or less discernible in them; and a simplicity of character which remarkably adorned his private life was generally evident also in his ministerial conduct. In his progress to a very exalted eminence he had few competitors, and his long possession of it excited little jealousy, because the public interest was, or seemed to be, the invariable object of his labours, for envy is seldom provoked but by those who are evidently actuated by the selfish passions. The son was more adroit, not to say cunning. He was the first statesman in this country who practised, with the air of a system, the policy of governing by the opposition and balance of parties. His own hand was seldom to be discovered in his measures, and those by whom they were accomplished were rarely conscious of having been his instruments. He was charged, perhaps often unjustly, with duplicity, and with angry and revengeful partialities, nor was he wholly unsuspected of sharing in the gross venality to which most public ministers of all ranks were tempted by the absurd carelessness and profuseness of the Monarch in whose reign he chiefly

ROBERT CECIL,

flourished. Salisbury was pliant, and served Elizabeth with as high a degree of favour as his father, but the wisdom and stern integrity of Burghley would have disqualified him for the place of High Treasurer to a Prince of James's character.

Robert Cecil was the only son of that exemplary minister by his second wife, Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Gidea Hall in Essex. Of the date of his birth we have the most discordant accounts, but it seems to have occurred about the year 1560. He received the education usual to persons of his rank at home, and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge, and, though he was in fact bred from his very childhood for the Court and the State, became amply accomplished in every branch of polite literature. His constitution was weak and sickly, inso-much that his person became deformed, and it was long before he was able to bear the fatigue of any unusual bodily exertion; but in 1584 he ventured to attach himself to the splendid embassy of Henry Earl of Derby to the Court of Paris, and in 1588 had so far mastered his infirmities as to join the number of young nobility who were witnesses to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Several years however yet passed before he was specifically appointed to any post in the government, during which he was receiving from his father that last instruction in state affairs which can be derived only from a participation in the management of them. The most advantageous opportunity for this was offered by the death of Walsingham, in 1590, and Burghley instantly seized it. He persuaded Elizabeth, on what grounds is now unknown, to keep the office of Principal Secretary nominally vacant, and for the six succeeding years transacted the business of it himself, with the assistance of his son, who in the summer of 1596 was at length formally appointed to it. From this promotion originated the lasting enmity between Cecil and Essex, who had proposed to the Queen first Davison, and then Bodley, for the Secretaryship, and had on those occasions, says Camden, before whose report the tales of such writers as Welden

EARL OF SALISBURY.

and Osborne sink into contempt, “with so much bitterness, and so little reason, disparaged Cecil,” that she would not listen to Essex’s recommendation, even insomuch as to permit either of the objects of his choice to act as coadjutor to Cecil in the office.

In 1597 Elizabeth conferred on him the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and about the same time gave him the custody of the Privy Seal; and in the following year he was the chief commissioner on the part of England in the negotiation for a peace between the Crowns of France and Spain which is known by the name of the treaty of Vervins. Before his departure, such was his opinion of the honour of his generous adversary, he is said to have earnestly sought, and at length to have obtained, from Essex a promise not to injure him during his absence by promoting any of his enemies. He succeeded his father, who died in the autumn of that year, in the post of Master of the Wards, and in his office of secretary exercised in fact that of prime minister for the remaining five years of the Queen’s life, with as full a share of her favour and confidence as she had at any time bestowed on his illustrious natural and political predecessor. He had indeed many of his father’s qualifications to recommend him, and some, as has been already observed, which that great statesman never possessed. No one among her ministers but himself could have supplied the loss of Walsingham, who furnished her with the means of controlling foreign powers through intelligence gained in their own courts. Cecil even rivalled him in this dark faculty, and Elizabeth, in whom we find the worst meannesses of the feminine character united to an extravagance in the factitious splendor of royalty, valued him accordingly.

His memory has been highly censured for his having held a secret correspondence with the King of Scots for some of the last years of her life, and apparently without any just cause, for it has never been insinuated that he betrayed her confidence to that

ROBERT CECIL,

Prince. Those who have blamed him on this score forget that the reciprocal relations of monarch and minister cannot be expected to involve that delicacy of personal regard which belongs to the affections of private life, and is even there not frequently to be found. Cecil, a minister by trade, sought to ensure the favour of the successor to the Throne, and he did it fairly and honestly. It has been said that his efforts to that end were powerfully seconded by Hume, Earl of Dunbar, perhaps the most creditable of James's Scottish ministers, and an incredible tale is told by a pamphleteer of that day of his meeting that nobleman privately at York, immediately after the Queen's decease, to negotiate for his good offices. James's motives for accepting and retaining Cecil in his station of prime minister are obvious. His services were indispensably necessary, for the Council of Elizabeth contained not an individual qualified to supply his place. The King was arbitrary and idle ; sudden, extravagant, and versatile, in the choice of his private familiars ; and more ambitious of the character of an able polemic, and an acute theoretical politician, than of a powerful Prince : Cecil was subservient and vigilant ; too wise and too proud to entertain a jealousy of mere favourites ; and willingly encouraged James to waste in reveries the time which would otherwise have been employed in interfering with his minister's measures.

It is needless to say that he was continued in the office of Secretary. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth he had possessed no higher title than that of a Knight Bachelor, but James now amply compensated him for the omission, for on the thirteenth of May, 1603, he was created Baron Cecil, of Essendon, in the county of Rutland ; on the twentieth of August, in the following year, Viscount Cranborne ; on the fourth of May, 1605, Earl of Salisbury ; and on the twentieth of the same month was installed a Knight of the Garter. He was about that time elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and on the death of Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset in April 1608 was appointed on

EARL OF SALISBURY.

the fourth of the following month to succeed him in the great office of Lord Treasurer. With that nobleman Cecil had long lived in the strictest friendship, and we have the good fortune to possess a character of him, drawn by Dorset's exquisite pen, which leaves no room to doubt of the exaggerations of calumny with which his memory has been loaded. The solemn nature of the document in which it is to be found, and the admirable universality of talent and judgement, as well as the perfect integrity and honour of the writer, unite to give it every claim to credit, and as Dorset's name has thus occurred, it may as well be inserted in this place:

In his last will he bequeaths to Cecil several jewels of great value, not only as tokens of a most earnest personal affection, which he declares at considerable length, and with the utmost warmth of expression, "but also, and most chiefly," to use the words of the testator, "even in regard of his public merit, both towards his Majesty and this Commonwealth: wherein," continues he, "when I behold the heavy weight of so many grave and great affairs which the special duty of his place as principal Secretary doth daily and necessarily cast upon him; and do note withal what infinite cares, crosses, labours and travels of body and mind, he doth thereby continually sustain and undergo; and, lastly, do see with how great dexterity, sincerity, and judgement, he doth accomplish and perform the painful service of that place: these divine virtues of his, so incessantly exercised and employed for the good of the public, I must confess have made me long since so greatly to love, honour, and esteem him, and so firmly and faithfully fixed my heart unto him, as I do dailie and heartily pray unto Almighty God to continue all strength and ability, both of body and mind in him, that he sink not under the weight of so heavy a burthen." After fervently praying at some extent for a continuance of the blessings of Providence on his ministry, Dorset concludes—"Thus I have faithfully set down in some sort the noble parts of this honourable

ROBERT CECIL,

Earl, who, besides such his worthiness and sufficiency for the public service both of his sovereign and country, is also framed of so sweet a nature ; so full of mildness, courtesy, honest mirth, bounty, kindness, gratitude, and discourse ; so easily reconciled to his foe, and evermore so true unto his friend ; as I may justly say that it were one of the chiefest felicities that in this world we can possess, to live, converse, and spend our whole life, in mutual love and friendship with such a one ; of whose excelling virtues, and sweet conditions, so well known to me, in respect of our long communication by so many years in most true love and friendship together, I am desirous to leave some faithful remembrance in this my last Will and Testament ; that since the living speech of my tongue when I am gone from hence must then cease and speak no more, that yet the living speech of my pen, which never dieth, may herein thus for ever truly testify and declare the same."

Cecil's political character, as given by Lord Dorset, is fully justified by the clearest historical evidence. His application to the duties of his several offices was almost incessant, and no object, however minute, which they involved escaped his attention. It appears from an extensive collection of his original papers which were once my property that he had not only informed himself, with a correctness which without such proof would have been altogether incredible, of the precise number of acres ; of the several buildings, and their state of repair ; of the woods, and of the timber proper to be felled ; comprised in all the estates of the crown ; but that he had applied his mind distinctly to the consideration of every subdivision of each of those several branches of the subject, and had written innumerable notes on them with his own hand, frequently at great length. So too, in his place of Master of the Wards, he wrote himself at the foot of each petition for wardship, even from the meanest persons, his answer, the mode of which always proved that he had carefully considered the merits of each case. It has been said

EARL OF SALISBURY.

that he procured from James large grants of lands, and made exchanges of estates with that Prince unreasonably to his own advantage. If it were so, he did but imitate the practice of all ministers of that age, and of many which preceded it; but, on the other hand, he was perhaps the only minister or courtier of that reign who stood even unsuspected of foreign corruption. He has been charged too with abject submission to the will of his master: it is true that he interfered not with the foibles of the man, but he discouraged, sometimes by argument, sometimes by artifice, the prodigality of the monarch; and opposed, vigorously and openly, the Spanish interest, to which James is well known to have been strongly inclined. On the whole, it is surprising that a Prince so careless and so profuse should have had a servant so honest, and under the impression of that candid and impartial opinion some writer of later days has said that "Cecil was the first bad Treasurer, and the last good one since the reign of Elizabeth."

Of Lord Dorset's report of him as a private man, valuable as it is, for no one else has portrayed him in that character, little need be said, because few parts of it have been contradicted. His enmity to Essex, and afterwards to Raleigh, have been frequent themes of historical censure, but neither his motives nor his conduct regarding those unfortunate great men have ever been even slightly examined. His original offence to the former has been already here mentioned, and he aggravated it by opposing the promotion of Bacon to the office of Attorney General. Essex, the slave of passion, vilified him openly, and the cool prudence with which Cecil endured his attacks was called hypocrisy. The Earl suddenly embraced and headed an imbecile faction to drive Cecil from the ministry: the statesman defended himself, and thwarted his adversary by counteracting his schemes for military glory. To us, who live in the age of party, this will seem but fair collision. When Essex was taken in open rebellion his powerful adversary appears to have made no efforts to forward the impending

blow, but he is said to have witnessed the infliction of it, and hence the general impression of his hatred to the unhappy favourite. Some traces of the high generosity as well as of the cruelty of incivilisation were to be yet discerned in that time, and Cecil, if he were a spectator of the death of Essex, prevailed on Elizabeth to spare the life of Southampton, that nobleman's dearest friend, and not less his own enemy. Of the causes of his quarrel with Raleigh less is known. They had been united against Essex, and disagreed after his overthrow. It is natural to suppose that their ill offices towards each other were mutual, but we have few particulars of the activity of Cecil's resentment, whose station indeed afforded him opportunities of dealing out his vengeance unseen. Raleigh however is known to have presented a memorial to James on his arrival in England, full of bitter reflections on Cecil, charging him with the ruin of Essex, and his father with the death of the Queen of Scots. Forgiveness, or even forbearance, could scarcely be reasonably expected from the infirmity of nature after such an injury.

To endeavour in a work of this nature to digress from these slight notices of this great man's character into even the most contracted epitome of the history of his ministry would be idle. To conclude then, it may be truly said that he sacrificed his life to the public service. His constitution, naturally weak and delicate, had been so fortified by medical care and temperance, that at the time of the death of Elizabeth he seemed to bid fair for long life. Her system, clear, decisive, and regular, suited the character of his mind, and had become engrafted on his habits; but the care and anxiety attendant on the superintendence of an uncertain policy, and an impoverished revenue, gradually undermined his re-established health. In 1611 he shewed manifest signs of decay, and at length fell into a pulmonary consumption, in the last stage of which he was advised to use the waters of Bath, and after a few weeks' ineffectual trial of them, died, on his return from thence, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1612, at

EARL OF SALISBURY.

Marlborough, and was buried in the Parish Church of his princely seat of Hatfield in Herts. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Brook, Lord Cobham, by whom he had one son, William, his successor, lineal ancestor of the present Marquis of Salisbury, and one daughter, Frances, wife of Henry Clifford, fifth Earl of Cumberland.



Engraved by W. H. W. H. W. H.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES

OB 1612

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DORSET

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

AN attempt was made some years since to write at large the life of this admirable youth in the usual strain of regular biography, but it proved wholly ineffectual. Dr. Birch, with that indefatigable assiduity and accuracy by which he was distinguished, drew together from all authentic sources that he could discover, perhaps every letter extant which the Prince had ever received; every dedication which had ever been addressed to him; every public instrument regarding his government, his establishment, and his revenue, together with long original narratives of the tiltings and dancings in which he had taken a part, and of the entertainments which had been provided for him in his several visits and progresses. All this is useless. The life of Prince Henry was a life of prospects, and not of events; the story of a manly childhood, and a wise puberty, subjected to the customary restraints of youth, and debarred by authority from rising into public action: It is therefore chiefly in those detached sallies of character which vainly promised a splendid future fame that we are to seek for his circumscribed history. Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer of his Household, was sensible of this, and has treated his subject accordingly, in a very small but interesting piece, intitled, "The Life and Death of our late most incomparable and heroique Prince, Henry Prince of Wales;" which Birch, in his passion for biographical mechanism, has ventured, in the preface to his own work, to call "a mere pamphlet, extremely superficial, and unsatisfactory on almost every head."

Henry was born in Sterling Castle, in Scotland, on the nineteenth of February, 1594. The care of his person, and of his early education, was almost immediately committed to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, and the Dowager Countess, his mother,

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

who is said to have been a singularly ill-tempered woman, and from them he was removed, at the age of six years, to the custody of Adam Newton, a very learned Scotsman, on whom James, after his accession to the throne of England, conferred the title of Baronet, and, though a layman, the Deanery of Durham. It was at this very early period of his life that his father printed his "Basilicon Doron, or his Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son, Henry the Prince," confining the impression to seven copies, and swearing the printer to secrecy; a work which, in the vanity of his heart, he afterwards published to the whole world, under the pretence of correcting erroneous transcripts which he alledged had got abroad, in spite of all his caution. Thus trained, in a half civilized country and court, incessantly under the controul and direction of a pedantic and narrow-minded father, and of a mother lately imported from a land actually barbarous, little might reasonably have been expected from a pupil so situated. A mighty character, however, of nature overcame all these disadvantages. Henry, even from his cradle, gave infallible proofs of the best and greatest qualities. His courage, perhaps the first virtue clearly discernible in infancy, was most undaunted. It is recorded of him, that when he happened to hurt himself, even severely, in the eagerness of his infantine sports, he cried not, but concealed and denied the injury. This disposition soon took a military turn. Looking at a chace which he was too young to be allowed to follow, one of his attendants asked him whether he should like that sport. He answered "yes, but I should better like another kind of hunting; the hunting of thieyes and rebels, with brave men and horses."

La Boderie, ambassador from Henry the Fourth of France to James, in a letter to the French Minister, of the 31st of October, 1606, writes thus of him: "None of his pleasures savour in the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses, and of what belongs to them, but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping than that which

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at tennis, and at another Scottish diversion very like mall; but always with persons older than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies for two hours every day, and employs the rest in tossing the pike, leaping, shooting with the bow, throwing the bar, vaulting, or some other such exercise, and is never idle. He is very kind and faithful to his dependents; supports their interests against all persons whatsoever; and pushes his endeavours for them, or others, with a zeal which seldom fails of success. He is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and especially by the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly apprehensive of the Prince's ascendancy: while the Prince, on the other hand, shews very little esteem for his Lordship." The testimony of this foreigner deserves implicit credit, and, be it remembered, that he is speaking of a child just thirteen years old.

As his reason unfolded itself, all the milder virtues gradually shone forth in him. Such was his intire love of sincerity, that he could not endure even the innocent and usual fallacies of polite intercourse. Sir Charles Cornwallis informs us, that having laid before him, for his signature, a letter to a nobleman of whom he had no good opinion, which ended with some common place expressions of favour, the Prince commanded him to make another copy, the concluding words of which he himself dictated, saying that his hand should never affirm what his heart did not think. "He was so exact," (says an anonymous Harleian MS. addressed to the Lord and Lady Lumley, and entitled "A Relation of Prince Henry's noble and virtuous Disposition, and of sundry his witty and pleasant Speeches") in all the duties of filial piety, and bore so true a reverence and respect to the King, his father, that, though sometimes he moved his Majesty in some things relating to the public, or his own particular interests, or those of others, yet on the least word, or look, or sign, given him of his Majesty's disapprobation, he would instantly desist from

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

pursuing the point; and return, either with satisfaction, upon finding it disagreeable to the King, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor action, gave any appearance of being displeased or discontented." He was strictly pious, and most exact in the exercise of his public and private devotions, and had such an aversion to the profanation of the name of God that he was never heard to use it but devoutly: Indeed he abhorred swearing, which, probably because the King himself was much addicted to it, was the fashion of his time. It happened one day when he was hunting that the stag crossed a road in which a butcher and his dog were passing: the dog fell on the stag, and killed it, and the Prince's attendants endeavouring to incense him against the man, he answered, "if the dog killed the stag, could the butcher help it?" One of them hereupon took the liberty to say that if the King's hunting had been interrupted by such an accident he would have sworn terribly. "Nay," said the Prince, "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath."

Cornwallis informs us that he loved and practised justice with the utmost strictness. He manifested this disposition particularly in the government of his own family, which consisted of nearly five hundred of all ranks, in which it is said that a blow was never given, nor a quarrel carried to any height. "Whatever abuses," says that gentleman, "were represented to him he immediately redressed, to the entire satisfaction of the parties aggrieved. In his removal from one of his houses to another, and in his attendance on the King, on the same occasions, or in progresses, he would suffer no provisions or carriages to be taken up for his use, without full contentment given to the parties; and he was so solicitous to prevent any person from being prejudiced or annoyed by himself, or any of his train, that whenever he went out to hunt or hawk before harvest was ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn, and, to set them an example, would himself ride rather a furlong about."

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

These admirable moral dispositions ornamented an excellent understanding, and governed a temper naturally very haughty. Never failing in any of the duties of the mere man, Henry, in all he thought, or said, or did, seemed to have constantly in his view the great inheritance which his birth had fallaciously promised to him. His household was a little monarchy, which he ruled with equal power, policy, and benignity. He was master, theoretically, of the art of war, and may indeed be said in some measure to have practised it, for he used the frequent military exercises, for his adroitness in which he was so highly distinguished, in order to qualify himself for the field. Cornwallis informs us that "he performed them with so much dexterity and skill, that he became second to no Prince in Christendom, and superior to most of those persons who practised with him;" and adds that "he sometimes walked fast and far, to enable himself to make long marches, when they should be required." He was critically versed in all that related to the navy, even to the most minute circumstances of ship-building, and no one was more highly favoured by him than Phineas Pett, a man who had applied to the study and practice of naval architecture talents which would have rendered him eminent in any other to which he might have directed them. "He loved and did mightily strive," says Cornwallis, "to do somewhat of every thing, and to excel in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and in all kind of engines belonging to the wars both at land and sea, in shooting and levelling great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of armies; in building and gardening; in all sorts of rare music, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in sculpture, limning and carving; and in all sorts of excellent and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries." The same author, and we cannot have a better authority, tells us that "he was extremely courteous and affable to strangers, and easily gained their affections upon a very short acquaintance," but that "he had a certain

height of mind, and knew well how to keep his distance; which indeed he did to all, admitting no near approach, either to his power or his secrets."

His fault indeed, and perhaps his only fault, seems to have been a degree of reserve so strict and constant, that it could not but have been the result of a temper naturally cold and distrustful. At a time of life usually marked by the sweet errors of overconfidence, and extravagant affections, Henry appears but uncertainly in the character either of friend or lover. In the long list of his companions and attendants, Sir John Harington, son, and for a short time successor, to the first Lord Harington of Exton, a young man of great attainments and the most amiable qualities, seems alone to have enjoyed his intimacy. Among the very few private letters written by the Prince which have been preserved is one to this gentleman, on some subjects of classical criticism, full of sprightliness and ingenuity, but without a single expression of kindness. Still less proof have we of his sacrifices to the tender passion. Cornwallis tells us, in terms which sound oddly enough in our day, that, "having been present at great feasts made in the Prince's house, to which he invited the most beautiful of the ladies of the Court and City, he could not discover by his Highness's behaviour, eyes, or countenance, the least appearance of a particular inclination to any of them, nor was he at any time witness of such words or actions as could justly be a ground of the least suspicion of his virtue." Some historical pamphleteers, on the other hand, insist that he had a successful intrigue with the beautiful and wicked Countess of Essex, to which they ascribe strange consequences, which will presently be mentioned; but this, if true, was but a solitary amour.

He had certainly formed for himself a line of political conduct which, according to the unhappy fatality, for so it seems, in such cases, was directly opposite to that of his father. His high spirit, and the activity of his nature, had irresistibly inspired him with a warlike inclination; and the strictness of his moral and

religious habits and exercises, together with an utter aversion to the Romish church, rendered him the idol of the puritans; to whom, on his part, he gave many indirect proofs of favour. "He was saluted by them," says the severe, but sagacious Osborne, "as one prefigured in the Apocalypse for Rome's destruction." He seems to have been determined never to marry a Roman Catholic. James, in 1611, had proposed to him the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and Raleigh, then a prisoner in the Tower, whom the King feared, and therefore hated, and of whom Henry had said that no one but his father would "keep such a bird in a cage," wrote, doubtless with the Prince's approbation, since they were dedicated to him, two admirable invectives against the match. A princess of Spain was afterwards offered to him; and in the spring of 1612 a negotiation was commenced for his marriage to a sister of Louis the thirteenth of France, which subsisted even at the time of his death, of the probable termination of which we may judge from his own declaration in his last hours, that he believed the Almighty had visited him with his grievous distemper to punish him for having listened to overtures of marriage with Roman Catholics. His discretion, his temperance, his oeconomy, and the severity as it may be called, of his manners, operated with the effect of satire and reproach on the contrary dispositions in the King, who by degrees became jealous of him, and in the end probably considered him as a formidable rival. Indeed James must have possessed supernatural philosophy to have endured the extent of his son's popularity. "The palpable partiality," says Osborne again, "that descended from the father to the Scots did estate the whole love of the English upon his son Henry, whom they engaged by so much expectation, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince, merely human, to bring so much felicity into a nation as they did all his life propose to themselves at the death of King James."

These extravagant hopes were suddenly blasted in the autumn.

of 1612. He was then in his nineteenth year. Some change appeared to have taken place in his constitution a few months before : he grew pale and thin, and more serious than usual ; had heavy pains in his head, and occasional fainting fits ; and generally received a temporary relief from sudden bleedings at the nose, which of late had been wholly suspended, owing, as it was thought, to his imprudent practice of too frequent swimming in the Thames when at his palace at Richmond. In August, and when the weather was uncommonly hot, he rode post in two days to Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rutland, to meet the king on his progress, and returned suddenly from the fatiguing ceremonies of that visit, to prepare a great feast for the court on his taking possession of the royal house of Woodstock, which his father had lately assigned to him. These violent exertions produced an aggravated attack of his indispositions, which caused at length what his medical attendants conceived to be a fit of ague, but what was in fact the commencement of a fever of the most furious character. His numerous physicians, according to the error of that time, plied him for six days with what they called cordial restoratives, and vehemently increased the malignity of his disease. One only, and his name should be recorded, Sir Theodore Mayerne, urged the necessity of bleeding, but he was obstinately opposed by the rest of the troop. Two days were suffered to pass before they could be brought to consent, and even then it was deferred till the next morning, though nature had, previously to Mayerne's suggestion, given them the signal for his cure, by one of those sudden discharges of blood from the nose to which he had been accustomed, and which produced an immediate temporary relief. At length only seven or eight ounces were permitted to be drawn, the miserable sufferer, says Cornwallis, " desiring and calling upon them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant." " This day, after bleeding," adds Sir Charles, " the Prince found great ease, insomuch as since the beginning of his

sickness he had not found himself so well ; his pulse inclining towards a more gentle motion ; missing his former cruel doublings ; and his former accidents being less, and more mild :” yet, incredible to tell, the bleeding was never repeated. Delirium, and agonizing convulsions soon followed. Still, such was the strength of his constitution, that he lived for some days, displaying in his intervals of reason the most beautiful and affecting example of patience and fortitude. He died on Friday, the sixth of November, 1612, notwithstanding that the Sages, as Cornwallis informs us, “ had lately applied to the soles of his feet a cock cloven by the back, and had redoubled their cordials in number and quantity.” A most exact and lengthened journal of his illness, and of the means resorted to for his cure, may be found in that gentleman’s narrative, exhibiting perhaps the most extraordinary and frightful instances extant of medical presumption and imbecility. Rumours were spread that he died by poison, and Carre, Viscount Rochester, then the guilty suitor, and afterwards the more guilty husband, of the Countess of Essex, was for a time suspected as the murderer ; but they obtained little credit, and certainly deserved none.

Sir Charles Cornwallis concludes his little book with the following sketch of the person of this extraordinary young man. “ He was of a comely tall middle stature, about five feet and eight inches high ; of a strong, strait, well made body, as if nature in him had shewed all her cunning ; with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste ; of an amiable majestic countenance ; his hair of an auborn colour ; long faced, and broad forehead , a piercing grave eye ; a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown.”



Engraved by H. Robinson

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON

OB 1614

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF CARLISLE

HENRY HOWARD,

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

THE circumstances of this nobleman's life have been made the subjects of discussion more minute than impartial, and of animadversion more severe than just. While his talents and acquisitions ornamented the name even of Howard, his conduct perhaps threw some shades on its almost unvaried purity. He was one of the very few of that family who ever condescended to practise the littlenesses of the statesman or courtier, and he has been, if the expression may be allowed, posthumously punished for so forgetting himself; but, as praise or blame, especially the latter, generally outrun the merits which respectively call them forth, his character seems to have been devoted to much undeserved censure.

He was the second son of that prodigy of worth, and talent, and gallantry, Henry, Earl of Surrey, by Frances, third daughter of John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford. He was born at Shottisham, in Norfolk, in 1539, and was yet an infant when his family was overwhelmed by that persecution of it which terminated the enormities of the reign of Henry the Eighth. As he grew towards manhood, he found himself a younger son, standing alone in the world. His admirable father had been snatched from him by an unjust sentence, and an ignominious execution. His grandfather, Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, had barely outlived the proscription of his House; and his only brother, the youthful heir to mutilated estates just released from an attainder, was waiting the very uncertain decision of Elizabeth's caprice as to the future fortunes of his family. Cramped and chilled by these untoward circumstances, and avoiding with

difficulty the gripe of poverty, Lord Henry Howard became selfish and misanthropic, and suffered his vigorous and sober understanding to degenerate into a mysterious cunning which became habitual, and seems to have influenced his conduct through the whole of a long life.

He received his education first at King's College, and afterwards at Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, and left that university, says Bishop Godwin, with so high a character for erudition, that he was commonly called "the learnedst among the nobility, and the noblest among the learned." Having passed some years in foreign travel, he returned to work his way as well as he could in the most jealous and capricious court then in Europe. Neither his merits nor his misfortunes obtained any consideration from Elizabeth beyond his restoration in blood in her first year; nor was it till towards the conclusion of her long reign that he obtained from her a degree of favour which consisted merely in the empty graces of royal civility, and that he seems to have owed to the influence of Essex, with whom he lived in a strict intimacy. Her distaste to him, however, was not altogether unreasonable, for he was all but a declared Papist, and had been strongly suspected of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots, that cause for which his elder brother bled on the scaffold.

He was amply compensated by her successor. He had been deeply engaged in the negotiations with that Prince which were carried on by Sir Robert Cecil, with not less activity than secrecy, in the concluding years of Elizabeth's life, and experienced an uncommon share of his gratitude. James, on his accession, summoned him to the Privy Council, on the first of January, in the succeeding year, made him Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; and on the thirteenth of August following advanced him to the dignities of Baron Howard, of Marnhill, and Earl of Northampton. He was soon after constituted one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal; was installed a Knight of the Garter on the

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

twenty-fourth of February, 1605; and on the twenty-ninth of April, 1608, appointed Lord Privy Seal. He was also Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and High Steward of Oxford. His conduct in his several public offices stands unimpeached, but his private intercourse with the great men of his time has been charged with treachery. He is said to have alternately played off, as the phrase is, Essex and the two Cecils against each other. Certain it is that letters remain from him to those several parties full of the high toned and hyperbolical expressions of regard which rendered ridiculous the epistolary correspondence of the great in that time, and which he bestowed on all the three in an equal measure. If flattery of that sort can be deemed treachery he was treacherous indeed, but if it cannot, he must be held guiltless of the charge till stronger evidence can be produced: at present we know of none.

His memory has been defamed too by an accusation of a far deeper cast, which seems not better proved than the former. He had the misfortune to be great uncle to Frances, Countess of Essex, the frightful circumstance of whose divorce from her Lord, and subsequent marriage to Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, have been so largely detailed by the historians and memoir-writers of that time. Whether to salve what might have remained of the Countess's reputation, or to court the good graces of Somerset, the new favourite, it is impossible to say, but he certainly made himself a busy instrument in forwarding the match. Possessed of that fact, a late noble writer who had a remarkable talent for defaming the characters of the illustrious dead with the greatest imaginable neatness and politeness, determined to load it with all the mischief of historical conjecture, and, on the authority of two letters in Winwood's Memorials, roundly accuses Lord Northampton of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was said to have been poisoned in the Tower, through the vindictive intrigues of the Earl and Countess of Somerset.

The letters in question were copied by the editor of Winwood

from the originals in the Cotton Collection, now in the British Museum, where they may be found in the volume marked "Titus B 4, page 479," &c. They were written by the Earl to Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, immediately after Overbury's death in his custody there. In the first of them (that is to say in that which stands first in the book, for they are not dated), the Earl, by Lord Rochester's (afterwards Somerset) request, desires that "the body may be delivered to any friend of the deceased who may wish to do him honour at his funeral;" and then expresses a doubt whether it may not have been already buried, "on account of its unsweetness, the deceased having been afflicted with some issues." In a postscript he desires the Lieutenant to inform himself whether "this grace hath been afforded formerly to close prisoners." This letter has a remarkable indorsement in the hand-writing of the Lieutenant, stating that on Overbury's death he had written to the Earl to know what he should do with the corpse, "acquainting his Lordship with his issues, and other foulness of his body;" and that the Earl, in answer, had desired him to have it viewed by a jury; and that he would "send for Sir John Lidcote, and as many else of his friends to see it as would." Elwes adds, "the body was very noisome, so that, notwithstanding my Lord's direction, I kept it over long, as we all felt"

In the second letter, to which the indorsement just now cited seems to refer, the Earl earnestly desires that the body may be buried with as little delay as possible, "for," says he, "it is time, considering the humours of the damned crew that only desire means to move pity, and raise scandals." In this letter, however, which is very short, he directs, four several times, that the body should be viewed by the friends of the deceased, previously to its interment.

It would have been but honest, in the editor of Winwood to have noticed a third letter, in the same volume, written before Overbury's death, which could scarcely have been overlooked by

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

any one who inspected the originals. Had he inserted it, however, it would have deprived him of the opportunity of uttering the malignant hint which we find attached to the others, in one of the very few notes which are scattered on the pages of his collection; and, by omitting it, he has misled the opinions of Lord Orford, and of Sir Egerton Brydges, the candour and accuracy of whose pen are even equal to its elegance. In that third letter, the Earl informs Sir Gervase Elwes that, "in compliance with old Mr. Overbury's petition, it is the King's pleasure that Mr. Doctor Cragg, this bearer, shall presently be admitted to Sir Thomas Overbury, that, during the time of his infirmity, he may take care of him, and as often as in his judgment to this end he shall find reason."

Surely these letters, instead of tending to criminate the Earl, exonerate him: nay, they go much further, for they throw a strong doubt on the received opinion that Overbury did not die a natural death. If he were really murdered, can we believe that the Lieutenant of the Tower, and his officers; the physician who attended Sir Thomas, and by the appointment too of his father, in his last illness; the jury, and his own private friends, who viewed his body after death; could possibly have agreed to conceal so horrible a fact? or, if we could suppose that they did so agree at the time, that not an individual, of so many, should ever have divulged it? With these questions, however, this work has no concern, further than as they may apply to the subject immediately before us, to which, after this apology, we may now turn with more satisfaction.

The Earl of Northampton saved from those revenues which himself had acquired a very considerable sum, without unbecoming parsimony, for he was famous for his scrupulous imitation of the grandeur of the ancient nobility in his public appearance, and in his household, and he built that sumptuous palace at Charing-Cross, which was then called Northampton, afterwards Suffolk, and of late years Northumberland-House, in which he ended his

life. He founded also three hospitals; at Greenwich, at Clun in Shropshire, and at Castlerising in Norfolk. His learning, as I have observed, has been highly celebrated, and his natural talents were little inferior to his learning. He employed himself much in his leisure hours with literary composition, and in 1583 printed, at the Earl of Arundel's Press, a very large work, with the following prolix title, which will sufficiently explain its nature and intention—"A Defensative against the Poyson of supposed Prophetes, not hitherto confuted by the penne of any man; which, being grounded eyther uppon the warrant and authority of old paynted Bookes, Expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Revelations, Invocations of damned Spirits, Judicialls of Astrology, or any other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoever, de futuris Contingentibus, have been causes of great disorder in the Commonwealth, and cheefely among the simple and unlearned People. Very needfull to be published at this time, considering the late offence, which grew by most palpable and grose errors in Astrologie."

The "late Offence" to which he alludes, and which, as Lord Northampton seldom acted without a particular view, probably furnished the motive to this Treatise, is not to be discovered in history, but the book itself is indeed the result of a prodigious extent of study, equally abundant in scriptural and classical learning, and full of good argument, continually illustrated by curious anecdotes, as well modern as ancient. The rest of his works remain unpublished. Two Treatises to justify female government, the one in the Harleian, the other in the Bodleian Collection: "An Abstract of the Frauds of the Officers of the Navy," among the King's MSS. "A Defence of the French Monsieur's desuing Queen Elizabeth in marriage," also in the Harleian; and some devotional pieces in other departments of the library of the Museum. But the great treasure of his remains is a volume of twelve hundred pages, in the Cotton MSS marked Titus C 6, consisting of private letters, speeches in Parliament,

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

small treatises, prayers, detached maxims and observations, poems, &c. written at all times of his life, and here transcribed almost wholly with his own hand. In the authorities which I have consulted for the present purpose I find no notice taken of this very curious collection, which, even from the cursory inspection which I have been able to bestow on it, appears to contain matters of inestimable importance to the history of his time.

This extraordinary man died, unmarried, on the fifteenth of June, 1614. "The Earl of Northampton," says Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, "having, after a lingering fever, spent more spirits than a younger body could well have borne, by the incision of a wennish tumour on his thigh, yesternight, between eleven and twelve of the clock, departed out of this world."

In his Will, which is dated only on the day before his death, is this passage—"I recognize, with all the loyallnes of my harte, the exceeding extraordinarie love, favour, and bountie, of my most deare and gracious Soveraigne, whom I have found ever so constant to me his unworthy sarvant as no devises of myne enemyes could ever draw or divert his goodnes from me. I most humbly beseech his excellent Majestie to accept, as a poore remembrance of me his faythefull sarvant, a ewer of golde, of one hundred pounds value, with one hundred jacobine pieces 'of twenty two shillings a peece therein; on which ewer my desyer is there should be this inscription—"Detur Dignissimo." He was buried in the church of Dover Castle.



Portrait by V. M. 18

SIR JOHN MORF

OB 1883

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBURN IN THE COLLECTION OF

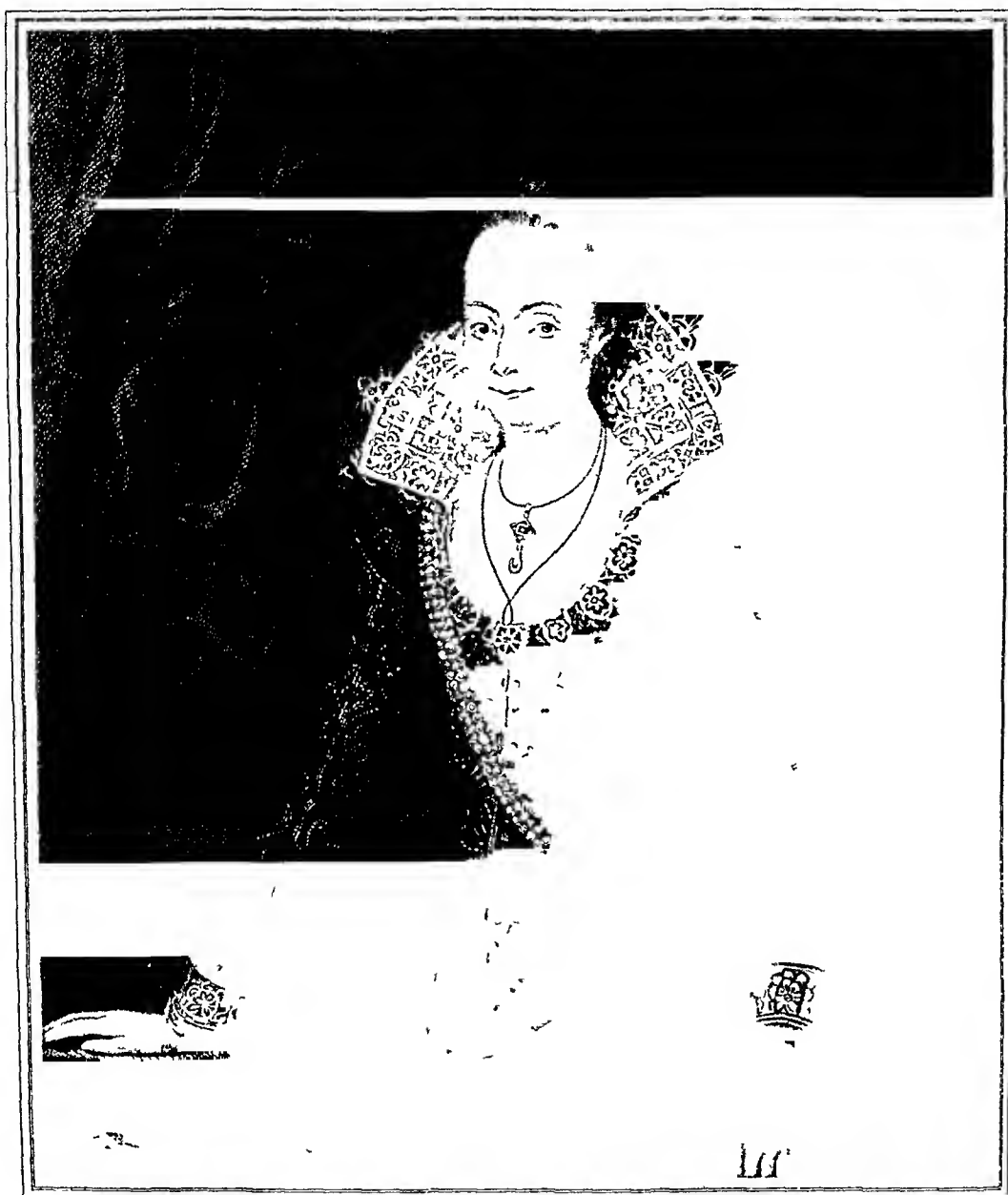
THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE LARD OF TEMBROKI

SIR JOHN MORE.

WE know nothing of this gentleman's ancestors. No record of them remains in the College of Arms, and among the many who have written the life of his son, though all strive to combat a prevailing opinion that he came of an obscure family, not one has attempted to advance a single fact which might tend to trace his pedigree beyond his father, the subject of the present sketch. Sir John More was bred to the law, received his professional education in Lincoln's Inn; and acquired a high reputation as an advocate soon after his appearance at the bar. In 1501, that son, afterwards the admirable Chancellor, gave high offence to the Court by opposing in the House of Commons, of which in very early life he had become a member, a motion for the impost of a subsidy, and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the seventh, to James the fourth, King of Scotland; and his father was immediately after committed, by the royal order, to the Tower. Of the nature of his accusation, for some specific charge, even in those days of violence and injustice, must have been alledged, we are wholly ignorant, but the few who have spoken of the circumstance agree in ascribing his imprisonment to the anger excited in the King by the freedom of his son's parliamentary conduct. This is by no means improbable. Revenge and avarice were the ruling features of Henry's character; and having in this instance gratified the former unreasonable disposition by the punishment of a guiltless person, he proceeded to feed the latter by the base exaction of a fine of one hundred pounds, on the payment of which More was set at liberty, and, resuming the exercise of his profession, was called to the degree of a Serjeant in Michaelmas term, 1505. He was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench in 1518, and on that occasion received knighthood; and, as he never experienced any further promotion, it may be plausibly inferred that his abilities were of no superior cast, especially

when we recollect the great source of legal preferment which existed in his family, for he survived for many years his son's appointment to the Chancellorship. Sir Thomas, who wrote his own epitaph, describes his father in it as "*Homo civilis, innocens, mitis, misericors, æquus, et integer:*" it may be reasonably supposed that he would have added *sapiens*, if the subject had merited that epithet. We are told that he possessed much of the pleasant and jocose humour which distinguished that great and good man; in proof of which, says the grandson and biographer of the Chancellor, "he would compare the multitude of women which are to be chosen for wives unto a bag full of snakes, having in it one eel. Now if a man should put his hand into this bag, he may chance to light on the eel, but it is a hundred to one that he shall be stung by a snake."

He was to the last degree beloved and respected by his son, whose constant practice it was, in passing through Westminster Hall in state, towards his judgment seat in the Chancery, to step for a minute into the Court of King's Bench, and kneel to his father for his blessing. From the little that has been transmitted to us respecting Sir John More, he appears to have been a worthy, humble, and prudent man. He must have amassed considerable wealth in the practice of his profession, for he purchased the manor and extensive estates of Gubbins, more properly Gobions, in the parish of North Mims, in Hertfordshire, which remained long in his posterity. He was thrice married: first, to the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire, by whom he had his celebrated only son, and two daughters; Jane, married to Richard Stafferton; and Elizabeth, to John Rastall, father of the eminent judge of that name. Secondly, to Alice, daughter of John More of Losely, in Surrey, by whom he had no issue. His third wife is unknown. He died in 1533, at the age of ninety, of a surfeit, as it is said, occasioned by immoderate eating of grapes, and was buried in the Church of St. Laurence, in the Old Jewry.



Engraved by J. C. In an

LADY ARABELLA STUART

OL. 1615

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

IT is surprising that so little attention should have been hitherto bestowed on the fair subject of this memoir. Not more distinguished by royal lineage than by admirable talents and worth; importantly connected with the history of her time, while her private life was marked by events so strange as to resemble the fictions of romance; a victim to various and almost unceasing calamity, and at length a martyr to the vilest persecution; the circumstances of her story have been hitherto suffered to remain in a great measure uncollected. It is true that her name appears in some works of general biography, and it is true also that the articles to which it is prefixed are always superficial, and in many instances erroneous.

She was the only child of Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lenox, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, of Hardwick, in Derbyshire, and is supposed to have been born in 1577. Her father, unhappily for her, was of the royal blood both of England and Scotland, for he was a younger brother of King Henry, father of James the sixth, and great grandson, through his mother, who was a daughter of Margaret, Queen of Scots, to our Henry the seventh. This illustrious misfortune, from which she derived no kind of claim to the throne of Scotland, and but a remote chance of inheriting the English crown, rendered her equally obnoxious to the caution of Elizabeth, and the timidity of James, and they secretly dreaded the supposed danger of her leaving a legitimate offspring. Many subordinate circumstances concurred to increase their aversion. She had been born in England, where her father died in the twenty-first year of his age, and admirably educated under the care of her grandmother, the old Countess of Lenox, who resided in London. Her manners, her habits, and her attachments, were

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

therefore entirely English, and her character displayed, together with a fine understanding and high accomplishments, a heart so kind, so frank, and so innocent, and such a lively humour, as ensured the admiration and delight of all who knew her. Her exalted rank kept her almost always within the circle of a Court to which she was the chief ornament, and she became there the object of that meaner and more common sort of jealousy which constantly follows superior merit. A disgust of a graver order succeeded; and Princes and Statesmen thought that they discerned in the spontaneous tribute of regard which her perfections demanded the views of a party which had conspired to raise her to the throne. It is true that some of those busy and intriguing spirits, from which no State can ever be entirely free, had occasionally glanced at her presumptive title, and even urged some fantastic arguments in favour of her succession to Elizabeth, and the well known father Persons, in his hatred to that Princess, to whom he was conscious that no theme of disquisition could be more odious, collected their reasonings in a pamphlet of no small extent, which he dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and printed in 1594, under the assumed name of Richard Dolman. This work, although the author had the candour to deny Arabella's claim to the immediate inheritance, published her name and descent in every part of Europe: she became for a time the subject of frequent conversation in all the foreign Courts, and the suspicion in which she was already held at home naturally increased.

James, who beheld her with complacency till he had ascended the throne of England, earnestly desired to marry her to his cousin, Esme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lenox, and whom, before the birth of his own children, he had considered as his heir; but this match was prevented by Elizabeth, under the false pretence that Lenox was a papist. A son of the Earl of Northumberland then addressed her, and was favourably received. Their correspondence, which the great Thuanus mistakenly asserts to have proceeded to a marriage, was necessarily

carried on in privacy, but was presently discovered, and she was placed for a time in confinement, by the Queen's order, but released without further punishment. Thus injured as she had been by Elizabeth, the death of that Princess increased the measure of her misfortunes. Soon after the accession of James, Raleigh, having ruined his own credit with the King by his endeavours to undermine Cecil's, plunged into that conspiracy with the Brooks, so fatal to himself, of which little is known but that its main object was to place her on a throne to which she had neither inclination nor pretensions, and by means unknown to herself. During his trial, at which she was present, on the first mention of her name in the evidence, Cecil rose, and said, "here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the King's. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech. She is as innocent of all these things as I, or any man here, only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the King." The old Earl of Nottingham, who stood by her, added, "the Lady doth here protest upon her salvation that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she wills me to tell the court;" and Cecil proceeded—"The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella to know if he might come and speak with her, and gave her to understand that there were some about the King that laboured to disgrace her: she doubted it was but a trick; but Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, saith that my Lord moved him to procure the Lady Arabella to write to the King of Spain; but he affirms that he never did move her as his brother devised." Whether these noblemen seriously meant to exculpate her may perhaps be doubtful; but we have abundant reason to believe that they spoke the truth, since no trace of historical intelligence is to be found that tends to implicate her as an active party in this most obscure, and even ridiculous design.

Some reflections however had been cast on her by one of the witnesses, for Michael Hickes, reciting some particulars of

Raleigh's trial, in a letter to her uncle, Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, of the sixth of December, 1603, writes—"They say the La. Arbella's name came to be mentioned in the evidence against him, but she was cleared in the opinion of all, and, as I hard, my L^d C. spake very honourably on her behalf; but one that gave in evydence, as it is sayd, spake very grossly and rudely concerninge her La. as I thynk yo^r L^p hath hard, or shall heare." It is worthy of remark that the passages alluded to by Mr. Hickes do not appear in the printed accounts of Raleigh's trial, in which her name is mentioned only in the indictment; and it should seem that the notes of those parts of the evidence had been suppressed, while the apologetic addresses of the two Lords, to which they had given occasion, were inadvertently suffered to be published. It must be inferred then that James, and his government, not only believed her to be innocent, but were inclined even to favour her, for the trial could not have been published but with their sanction: yet she appears at that time to have lost her credit at Court, where she presently afterwards suffered, together with the mortification of being personally neglected by the royal family, the various vexations of a pecuniary embarrassment extending nearly to poverty. Under all these untoward circumstances, she had no prospect of protection but in marriage, while she durst not openly encourage the addresses of any suitor; and persons of inferior rank, and with sordid views, availed themselves of her situation to make proposals to her which her terrors and distresses induced her to listen to, at least without the contempt which they deserved. Thus too she was forced into habits of deception and hypocrisy contrary to her generous and candid nature. Fowler, Secretary and Master of Requests to Anne of Denmark, in a letter to the same Earl of Shrewsbury, of the third of October, in the following year, says—"My Lady Arbella spends her time in lecture, reiding, hearing of service and preaching, and visiting all the Princesses. She will not heare of marriage. Indereçtlie ther wer speaches used in the recom-

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

mendation of Count Maurice, who pretendeth to be Duke of Gueldres. I dare not attempte her."

Matters proceeded thus till Christmas 1608, when James appears to have received her into some degree of favour, for he gave her, according to the custom of court presents at that season, one thousand marks, to pay her debts, and plate to the amount of two hundred pounds. About this time he granted her, as will be presently shewn by a document which has till now escaped notice, and which contradicts the report of all who have mentioned this part of her story, his permission to marry, only restricting her choice to his own subjects. She determined on William Seymour, grandson, and afterwards heir to the Earl of Hertford, but a natural timidity, which had been increased by constant ill usage, joined perhaps to some doubt of the King's sincerity, or of his resolution, induced her still to dissemble, and they were married with the utmost privacy in January, or February, 1609. Her apprehensions were but too just. A rumour of unusual intimacy between them having been conveyed to the Court, they were summoned before the Privy Council, and reprehended with great severity. As they were then suffered to escape without further punishment, it may be presumed that they yet denied their marriage, and were credited; but in the summer of the following year it was by some means fully discovered, and the Lady was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, in his house at Lambeth, and Mr. Seymour to the Tower of London, where, on his arrival, he was complimented by Melvin, a nonconformist minister, then confined there, with a distich, the pretty quaintness of which may furnish an excuse for the momentary interruption of this narrative—

" Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris Ara—
Bella tibi causa est, ara que sacra mihi "

It was probably at this precise period that Arabella addressed to the King the following petition, or letter, which has been preserved in the Harleian collection, together with some other papers

of less moment relating to her marriage, among which is a declaration to the Privy Council by Sir Edward Rodney, that it was solemnized in his presence, in her chamber at Greenwich.

May itt please your most excellent Ma^{tie}.

I doe most hartily lament my hard fortune that I should offend yo^r Ma^{tie}, especiallie in that whereby I have longe desired to meritt of yo^r Ma^{tie}, as appeared before yo^r Ma^{tie} was my Soveraigne: and, though yo^r Ma^{tie}'s neglect of me, my good likeinge of this gent. that is my husband, & my fortune, drewe me to a contracte before I acquainted yo^r Ma^{tie}, I humblie beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to consider howe impossible itt was for me to ymagine itt could be offensive unto yo^r Ma^{tie}, havinge fewe days before geven me your royall consent to bestowe myselfe on anie subject of yo^r Ma^{tie}'s, w^{ch} likewise yo^r Ma^{tie} had done longe since. Besides, never havinge ben either prohibited any, or spoken to for any, in this land by yo^r Ma^{tie} these 7 yeares that I have lived in yo^r Ma^{tie}'s house, I could not conceive that yo^r Ma^{tie} regarded my mariage att all; whereas, if yo^r Ma^{tie} had vouchsafed to tell me yo^r mynd, and accepte the free will offeringe of my obedience, I would not have offended yo^r Ma^{tie}, of whose gracious goodnes I presume so much that, if itt weare as convenient in a worldlie respect as mallice may make itt seame to separte us whom God hath joyned, yo^r Ma^{tie} would not doe evill that good might come thereof; nor make me, that have the honor to be so neare yo^r Ma^{tie} in bloud, the first presedent that ever was, though our Princes maie have lefte some as little imitable for so good and gracious a Kinge as yo^r Ma^{tie} as David's dealinge with Uriah. But I assure myselfe, if itt please yo^r Ma^{tie} in yo^r owne wisdom to consider throughlie of my cause, there will noe solide reason appeare to debarre me of justice, and yo^r princelie favor, w^{ch} I will endeavor to deserve whilst I breathe, and, never ceasinge to praie for yo^r Ma^{tie}'s felicitie in all thinges, remaine,

Your Ma^{tie}'s &c.

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

The rigour with which they were first confined was soon abated. She was allowed the range of Sir Thomas Parry's grounds, and at length placed under the charge of Sir James Crofts, in the house of a Mr. Conyers, at Highgate; and Mr. Seymour seems to have had nearly the freedom of a prisoner on parole. They took the advantage of this relaxation to correspond by letters; their intercourse was detected, and the King commanded that Arabella should be removed to Durham. Mutually terrified at the prospect of so total a separation, they determined to fly, and found means to concert a plan for their departure, which both effected on the same day, the third of June, 1611, unhappily, however, owing to some error in their appointment, never to meet again. The circumstances of their escape are related in a letter from a Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated on the eighth of that month, with a liveliness and simplicity which could not but be injured by describing them in any other form of words.

“ On Monday last, in the afternoon,” says Mr. More, “ my Lady Arabella, lying at Mr. Conyers's house near Highgate, having induced her keepers and attendants into security by the fair shew of conformity, and willingness to go on her journey towards Durham, which the next day she must have done, and in the mean time disguising herself, by drawing a pair of great French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, pulling on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke, with long locks, over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side, walked forth between three and four of the clock with Markham. After they had gone a-foot a mile and a half to a sorry inn, where Crompton attended with horses, she grew very sick and faint, so as the ostler that held the stirrups said that gentleman would hardly hold out to London; yet, being set on a good gelding astride, in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face; and so she rode on towards Blackwall, where arriving about six of the clock, finding there in a readiness two men, a gentlewoman, and a chambermaid, with one boat full

of Mr. Seymour's and her trunks, and another boat for their persons, they hasted from thence towards Woolwich. Being come so far, they bade the watermen row on to Gravesend : there the watermen were desirous to land, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Leigh, and by that time the day appeared, and they discovered a ship at anchor a mile beyond them, which was the French bark that waited for them. Here the lady would have lain at anchor, expecting Mr. Seymour, but, through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoisted sail seaward. In the mean while Mr. Seymour, with a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny cloth suit, walked alone without suspicion from his lodging, out of the great west door of the Tower, following a cart that had brought him billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower wharf, by the warders of the south gate, and so to the iron gate, where Rodney was ready with oars to receive him. When they came to Leigh, and found that the French ship was gone, the billows rising high, they hired a fisherman for twenty shillings to set them aboard a certain ship that they saw under sail. That ship they found not to be it they looked for ; so they made forward to the next under sail, which was a ship of Newcastle. This, with much ado, they hired for forty pounds to carry them to Calais, but whether the collier did perform his bargain or no is not as yet here known. On Tuesday, in the afternoon, my Lord Treasurer being advertised that the Lady Arabella had made an escape, sent forthwith to the Lieutenant of the Tower to set strait guard over Mr. Seymour ; but, coming to the prisoner's lodgings, he found, to his great amazement, that he was gone from thence one whole day before."

Mr. More, having stated some other matters not to our present purpose, adds—"Now the King, and the Lords, being much disturbed with this unexpected accident, my Lord Treasurer sent orders to a pinnace that lay at the Downs to put presently to sea, first to Calais road, and then to scour up the coast towards Dunkirk. This pinnace, spying the aforesaid bark which lay

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

lingering for Mr. Seymour, made to her, which thereupon offered to fly towards Calais, and endured thirteen shot of the pinnace before she would strike. In this bark is the lady taken, with her followers, and brought back towards the Tower, not so sorry for her own restraint as she would be glad if Mr. Seymour might escape, whose welfare she protesteth to affect much more than her own." He did in fact arrive safely in Flanders, where he remained for many years a voluntary exile.

The unfortunate Arabella was led a prisoner to London, and placed in the closest confinement. A great parade was made of the enormity of her crime, perhaps to maintain some consonance with the terms of a proclamation which had been issued for the apprehension of herself, and her husband, in which they were charged with "divers great and heinous offences." Her aunt, Mary Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, was also committed to the Tower, and the Earl, her husband, confined in his own house. Even the Earl of Hertford, infirm and superannuated as he was, received a summons to repair instantly to the Court from his distant retirement. Arabella, and Lady Shrewsbury, were immediately questioned at great length by the Privy Council. The former, says More, in another letter to Winwood, "answered the Lords at her examination with good judgment and discretion, but the other is said to be utterly without reason, crying out that all is but tricks and giggs: that she will answer nothing in private; and if she have offended in law, she will answer it in publick,"—a resolution surely not less reasonable than high spirited. The same letter informs us that great contrariety of prejudice on the subject of her persecution arose between the English and Scottish parties; the one averring that it was ridiculous to apprehend any design on the throne from pretensions so remote; the other comparing the offence, for the perils that it involved, to the gunpowder treason, "and so," adds More, who appears to have been a man of considerable ability and penetration, "it is said to fill his Majesty with fearful imaginations,

and, with him, the Prince, who cannot so easily be removed from any settled opinion."

After long protracted and nice enquiry, no ground could be discovered for any criminal charge against either of them, yet they were suffered to remain close prisoners. Early, however, in the following year, it was suddenly reported to the Court that Arabella was inclined to make extraordinary disclosures, and she was again summoned before the Council, and preferred some strange and incoherent accusations against several persons, among whom was the Countess, her aunt, who was still in confinement: but it presently appeared that the frame of her mind had given way under the pressure of aggravated calamity and unjust seclusion. James and his ministers at length sacrificed to prudence what they had denied to justice and humanity, and all proceedings were dropped; but she was remanded to the Tower, where she soon after sunk into helpless idiocy, and survived in that wretched state till September, 1615, on the twenty-seventh of which month she was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the remains of her kinsman, Henry, Prince of Wales. We find in the poems of Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, the following lines, by way of monumental inscription to her memory, which seem to challenge insertion here.

“ How do I thank thee, death, and bless thy power,
That I have past the guard, and 'scap'd the Tower!
And now my pardon is my epitaph,
And a small coffin my poor carcase hath;
For at thy charge both soul and body were
Enlarg'd at last, secur'd from hope and fear.
That amongst saints, this amongst Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim my death hath paid ”

Nor shall I be blamed for concluding this memoir with one of her letters, which, as it has no relation to any particular part of her foregoing story, may perhaps be most properly placed here. The good sense, the elegancy of expression, the innocent play-

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

fulness, and the high politeness, with which she communicates the trifles of which it treats, will tend to prove the truth of the slight view which I have ventured to give of her character, and increase our pity for her sufferings, and our indignation against the memory of her persecutors. It is addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and was written in the year 1603.

“ At my returne from Oxford, wheare I have spent this day, whilst my Lo. Cecill, amongst many more weighty affaires, was dispatching som of mine, I found my cousin Lacy had disburdened himselfe at my chamber of the charge he had from you, and straight fell to prepare his fraught back, for hindering his back returne to-morrow morning, as he intendeth.

“ I writt to you of the reason of the delay of Taxis’ audience : it remaineth to tell how jovially he behaveth himselfe in the interim. He hath brought great store of Spanish gloves, hauke’s hoods, leather for jerkins, and, moreover, a perfumer. These delicacies he bestoweth amongst our ladies and lords, I will not say wth a hope to effeminate the one sex, but certainly wth a hope to grow gracious wth the other, as he already is. The curiosity of our sex drew many la. and gentlewomen to gaze at him betwixt his landing place and Oxford, his abiding place ; which he desirous to satisfy (I will not say nourish that vice) made his coche stop, and tooke occasion wth petty guiftes and cowrtesies to winne soone wonne affections ; who, comparing his manner wth Monsieur de Ronee’s hold him theyr farre wellcomer guest. At Oxford he took som distast about his lodging, and would needes lodge at an inne, because he had not all Christs Colledge to him selfe, and was not received into the towne by the Vice-chancellour, in pontificalibus, which they never use to do but to the King, or Queene, or Chancellour of the University, as they say ; but those scruples were soon digested, and he vouchsafeth to lodge in a peece of the college till his repaire to the King at Winchester.

“ Count Arimberg was heere wthin these few dayes, and presented to the Queene the Archduke and the Infanta’s pictures, most excellently drawne. Yesterday the King and Queene dined at a lodge of S^r Henry Lea’s, 3 miles hence, and weare accompanied by the French Imbassadour, and a Dutch Duke. I will not say we weare merry at the Dutchkin, least you complaine of me for telling tales out of the Queene’s coch ; but I could finde in my heart to write unto you som of our yeasterdaye’s adventures, but that it groweth late, and, by the shortnesse of your letter, I conjecture you would not have this honest gentleman overladen wth such superfluous relations. My Lo. Admirall is returned from the Prince and Princesse, and either is or wil be my cousin before incredulous you will beleeve such incongruities in a counsellour, as love maketh no miracles in his subjectes, of what degree or age whatsoever. His daughter of Kildare is discharged of her office, and as neere a free woman as may be, and have a bad husband. The Dutch Lady my Lo. Wotton spoke of at Basing proved a lady sent by the Dutchess of Holstein, to learne the English fashions. She lodgeth at Oxford, and hath binne heere twice, and thincketh every day long till she be at home, so well she liketh her entertainment, or loveth hir owne countrey. In truth she is civill, and thearfore cannot but look for the like which she brings out of a ruder countrey : but if ever theare weare such a vertu as curtesy at the Court, I marvell what is become of it, for I protest I see little or none of it but in the Queene, who ever since her coming to Newbury hath spoken to the people as she passeth, and receiveth their prayers wth thanckes, and thanckfull countenance, barefaced, to the great contentment of natife and forrein people, for I would not have you thincke the French Imbassador would leave that attractive vertu of our late Queene El. unremembred or uncommended when he saw it imitated by our most gracious Queene, least you should thincke we infect even our neighbours wth incivility. But what a theame have rude I gotten unawares ! It

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

is your owne vertu I commend by the foile of the contrary vice ;
and so, thincking on you, my penne accused myselfe before I was
aware ; therefore I will put it to silence for this time, only
adding a short but most hearty prayer for your prosperity in all
kindes, and so humbly take my leave. From Woodstocke, the
16 of September.

Yo^r Lo'. neece,

ARBELLA STUART."



Engr. by W. H. H. H.

THOMAS EGERTON, VISCOUNT BRACKLEY

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR

OB 1637

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALTORD

THOMAS EGERTON,

VISCOUNT BRACKLEY.

THIS admirable person, whose virtues and whose wisdom have shed on his memory a fame which the utmost splendour of ancestry could not render more bright, was the natural son of Sir Richard Egerton, of Ridley, in Cheshire, by Alice, daughter of Sparke, and was born in that county about the year 1540. At the age of sixteen he was admitted a commoner of Brazen Nose College, in Oxford, and removed from thence in 1559 to Lincoln's Inn, where he studied the law with equal assiduity and success, and acquired, soon after his appearance at the bar, the highest distinction, as well for his eloquence as for his professional learning. Many years elapsed before he became a public officer, for he sought not for patronage, and abhorred intrigue. At length, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1581, Elizabeth appointed him her Solicitor General, and he remained in that office, without further promotion, till the second of June, 1594, when he was placed in that of Attorney. On the tenth of April, 1596, he was raised to the place of Master of the Rolls, and on the sixth of the following month to that of Lord Keeper, on the sudden death of Sir John Puckering.

We have many testimonies that he owed this elevation to the Queen's sole favour, and that it was beheld by the people with the highest approbation. In a letter to the Earl of Essex, printed in Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, the writer, a Mr. Reynolds, says, "the Master of the Rolls has changed his style, and is made Lord Keeper, only by her Majesty's gracious favour and by her own choice. I think no man ever came to this dignity with more applause than this worthy gentleman." and in another, from Anthony Bacon to a friend at Venice, Mr. Bacon, having spoken

THOMAS EGERTON,

of the death of the Lord Keeper, adds—"into whose place, with an extraordinary speed, her Majesty hath, *ex proprio motu, et speciali gratiâ*, advanced Sir Thomas Egerton, with a general applause, both of court, city, and country, for the reputation he hath of integrity, law, knowledge, and courage. It was his good hap to come to the place freely, without competitor or mediator; yea, against the desire and endeavour, as it is thought, of the omnipotent couple;" meaning, no doubt, the Cecils, father and son. Camden too, in his history of that year, says, "Puckering's place was supplied by Thomas Egerton, the Attorney General, of whose fair and equal deportment every one had conceived mighty hopes and expectations."

Nature, which had endowed him with all the grand principles whereon to form a statesman, had given him also dispositions which tended to render him unfit for that character. His perfect integrity, and the frank simplicity of his mind and heart, were ill suited to the practice of those artifices and frauds which exalt the fame of the politician while they ought to degrade that of the man. We hear little of him therefore in diplomatic negotiations, although it was the fashion of his time to entrust them mostly to eminent lawyers. He was a Commissioner in 1598 for treating with the United Provinces, chiefly on the subject of their debts to England; again in 1600, for the arrangement of some affairs with Denmark; and once more, towards the conclusion of his life, for the surrendering the cautionary towns into the hands of the States General. It is probable, however, that he was literally the keeper of the Queen's conscience, and that such of her affairs as could be submitted to the regulation of unmixed wisdom and honour were directed solely by his advice. Strictly of that nature was the mediation which Elizabeth secretly intrusted to him, by which she vainly sought to shield the amiable and frantic Essex against his own rage. The Lord Keeper and Essex lived in the strictest friendship and confidence. Their dispositions, to common observers, seemed to be dissimilar almost to opposition, but the

perfect honesty of their hearts, that sublime principle, compared to which the petty differences of character among men will be found to be little more than habits, had bound them in a firm union. "They love and join very honourably together," says Anthony Bacon, in another of his letters, "out of which correspondency, and noble conjunction, betwixt Mars and Pallas, betwixt justice and valour; I mean betwixt so admirable a nobleman as the Earl, and so worthy a justice as the Lord Keeper; I doubt not but very famous effects will daily spring, to her Majesty's honour, the good of the state, and the comfort of both their lordships' particular true friends." The unhappy circumstances which prevented those results form an interesting feature of our history, and have always been well known; but the kind and wise endeavours of Egerton to cool the fever of his friend's mind; to bring Essex to a just sense of his duty, and the Queen to a dispassionate consideration of his merits and infirmities; have been developed chiefly by the publication in Birch's memoirs of the correspondence which passed between them while Essex was smarting under the blow which he had received from the hand of Elizabeth. His subsequent submission has been ascribed to the arguments, at once mild and firm, of the Lord Keeper. On his hasty and imprudent return in the following year from his unfortunate campaign in Ireland, when it was judged necessary to restrain him from the seditious society into which he had thrown himself, he was committed to the hospitable custody of the same friend, in whose house he remained in an honourable captivity for more than six months. When the charges against him were there examined by a committee of the Privy Council, the Lord Keeper sat as president, and again earnestly endeavoured to save him, and, finally, submitted, with a patience and magnanimity equal to Essex's madness, to the indignity and danger of being locked up by that nobleman in Essex House, which he had visited unprotected, with conciliatory proposals from the Queen, exposed to the fury of an infatuated mob, by which his life was every

THOMAS EGERTON,

moment threatened. Their friendship was terminated but by the stroke under which the Earl soon after fell on the scaffold.

The accession of James brought him an increase of favour. On the third of May, 1603, he met the King at Broxborne, in Herts; tendered his resignation of the Great Seal; and was, with the most flattering expressions, commanded to retain it. On the nineteenth of July following, James, not by the customary warrant, but by a notice, as is said, in his own hand writing, bestowed on him the title of Baron Ellesmere, “for his good and faithful services, not only in the administration of justice, but also in council, to the late Queen, and to himself.” His patent for that honour was dated on the twenty-first of the same month, and on the twenty-fourth his great office was dignified by the more splendid style of Lord High Chancellor. Towards the end of that year he presided at the trials of the Lords Cobham and Grey, and in the next was one of the Commissioners for the union of Scotland to England, which was then ineffectually attempted. In 1605 he was appointed High Steward of the city, and in 1610 elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in which character he opposed his authority, with an earnest but well-tempered zeal, and with the strictest impartiality, against the popish and puritan parties which in his time had attained to a great, though unequal, ascendancy in that body. The Church of England never had a truer son, nor learning a more earnest friend; those therefore who rose by his means were generally as much distinguished by their orthodoxy as by their erudition. Among the many who shared his favour the most remarkable were Bacon and Williams, the one selected from the law, the other from the church, and each of these filled at length the exalted seat which had been so long and so worthily held by their venerable patron. Bacon, indeed, was his immediate successor—a philosopher but in a narrow sense of the word, he had pressed, it is lamentable to say, with a disgusting and unfeeling eagerness for the Seal long before the death of his benefactor. The fortunes of Williams were not yet

VISCOUNT BRACKLEY.

sufficiently ripe to enable him to tread on the heels of his illustrious friend. He was the Chancellor's chosen intimate and companion ; lived in his house, and was his chaplain, being the first who had served any Chancellor in that capacity since the reformation. He succeeded to Bacon in the custody of the Seal, and became afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and, finally, Archbishop of York.

The peace of Lord Ellesmere's latter days was somewhat clouded by an attack on the jurisdiction of his Court, which was indirectly encouraged by the great Chief Justice Coke, rather, as it should seem, from a natural turbulence, and busy restlessness of temper, than from any particular impression of malice or envy. The cause, progress, and termination, of this difference are narrated by Arthur Wilson, in his *Life of James*, with a clearness and conciseness which no alteration could amend. I shall therefore give his account in his own words.

“ A little before this time” (in the autumn of 1615) “ there was a breach between the Lord Chief Justice Coke and the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, which made a passage to both their declines. Sir Edward Coke had heard and determined a cause at the common law, and some report there was juggling in the business. The witness that knew, and should have related, the truth, was wrought upon to be absent, if any man would undertake to excuse his non-appearance. A pragmatICAL fellow of the party undertook it ; went with the witness to a tavern ; called for a gallon pot full of sack ; bade him drink ; and so, leaving him, went into the Court. This witness is called for, as the prop of the cause. The undertaker answers, upon oath, that he left him ‘ in such a condition that if he continues in it but a quarter of an hour he is a dead man.’ This, evidencing the man's incapability to come, deaded the matter so that it lost the cause. The plaintiffs, that had the injury, bring the business about in chancery. The defendants, having had judgment at common law, refuse to obey the orders of the court ; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for contempt of the court, commits them to prison : They petition

against him in the Star Chamber : The Lord Chief Justice joins with them ; foment the difference ; threatening the Chancellor with a *præmunire* : the Chancellor makes the King acquainted with the business, who sent to Sir Francis Bacon, his Attorney General ; Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crewe, his Serjeants at law, and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Solicitor ; commanding them to search what precedents there have been of late years wherein such as complained in Chancery were relieved, according to equity and conscience, after judgment at common law. These, being men well versed in their profession, after canvassing the matter thoroughly, returned answer to the King that there hath been a strong current of practice and proceeding in Chancery after judgment at common law, and, many times, after execution, continued since Henry the seventh's time to the Lord Chancellor that now is, both in the reigns, *seriatim*, of the several Kings, and the times of the several Chancellors, whereof divers were great learned men in the law ; it being in cases where there is no remedy for the subject by the strict course of the common law, unto which the judges are sworn. This," continues Wilson, " satisfied the King ; justified the Lord Chancellor ; and the Chief Justice received the foil, which was a bitter potion to his spirit."

A larger account of this memorable dispute may be found in a very long letter to the King from Sir Francis Bacon, which is printed in the general collection of his works, and elsewhere. The dexterity with which he avoids giving any decided opinion on a question of law on which James had undoubtedly called for his advice, and the flattery which he indirectly lavishes on that Prince's ruling foible, render it a singular curiosity : of the latter the following passage will be a sufficient specimen. " Two things I wish to be done : the one, that your Majesty take this occasion to redouble unto all your judges your ancient and true charge of rule, that you will endure no innovating the point of jurisdiction, but will have every court impaled within their own precedents,

VISCOUNT BRACKLEY.

and not assume to themselves new powers, upon conceits and inventions of law: the other, that in these high causes that touch upon state and monarchy, your Majesty give them strait charge that, upon any occasions intervenial hereafter, they do not make the vulgar party to their contestations, by publickly handling them before they have consulted with your Majesty, to whom the reglement of those things only appertaineth." The matter terminated in Coke's utter disgrace. On the third of June, 1616, a commission was issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the Council, to enquire who were the authors of calling the Chancellor into question of *præmunire*; and, on the third of the following October, he was cited, says Camden, in his *Annals of King James*, before the Chancellor; dismissed from his office of Chief Justice; banished Westminster Hall; and, further, ordered to answer some matters contained in his Reports. The truth is that James the more readily sided with the Chancellor in this affair because Coke had of late spoken too freely of the prerogative. He had said publickly in his court, glancing at some recent instance of royal interference, that "the common law of England would be overthrown, and the light of it obscured." The puisne judges also had indulged in the use of similar censures on different occasions, and the King now summoned them to his presence, reprimanded them severely; and required them to crave his pardon on their knees, to which all of them submitted except the Chief Justice, who stedfastly refused. It is but candid to confess that this humiliation was exacted with the Chancellor's concurrence, and was performed in his presence.

Lord Ellesmere, who had attained to the age of seventy-six, lay in a state of extreme illness during the heat of this contest. The flattering prospect however of it's issue seems to have revived him, and, on the twenty-fourth of May he presided as Lord High Steward on the trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury. It has been said that he positively refused to affix the Seal to the pardon so unjustly granted

to them by James ; but it is scarcely credible that he who could advise, or at least silently witness, so undue an exertion of the royal prerogative as has been just now mentioned, would have resisted, as it were in the same hour, that exercise of it which has been in all ages implicitly allowed. Soon after this period he rapidly declined. In the autumn of 1616 he solicited James, by an affecting letter, to accept his resignation, which being kindly refused, he repeated his request by a second. The King and Prince flattered him by intreaties to retain his office, and, on the seventh of November in that year, he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Brackley. At length, on the third of the following March, James, in a visit to him on his death-bed, received the Seal from his hand with tears. He survived only till the fifteenth, when, half an hour before his departure, Sir Francis Bacon, the new Lord Keeper, waited on him to notify the King's intention to create him Earl of Bridgwater. He was buried at Dodleston, in Cheshire.

It may not be too much to say that for purity of reputation this great man's character stands distinguished from those of all other public ministers of this country in all ages ; while for wisdom in council, profound knowledge of the laws, and general learning, he has seldom been excelled. Hacket, in his life of Archbishop Williams, says that he was a man "*qui nihil in vitâ nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut sensit,*" for his domestic life was as exemplary as his public conduct. His attention to the extrajudicial duties of his high office was not less sedulous and constant than to the causes in his court. In a speech at the conference of divines at Hampton Court in 1603-4, he uttered these expressions, which deserve to be recorded in letters of gold. "Livings rather want learned men than learned men livings, many in the Universities pining for want of places. I wish therefore some may have single coats before others have doublets ; and this method I have observed in bestowing the King's benefices." We have three professional tracts from his pen in print—His speech in the

VISCOUNT BRACKLEY.

Exchequer Chamber in the case of Colvil of Culross, usually called the case of the Postnati, published in 1609: "The Privileges and Prerogatives of the High Court of Chancery," in 1641: and "Certain Observations concerning the Office of Lord Chancellor," in 1651. But his great work, if it yet exists, remains in manuscript—four treatises on the High Court of Parliament; the Court of Chancery; the Starchamber; and the Council board. These, in his last hours, he gave to his chaplain, Williams, who some years after presented them to the King. He was thrice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton, in the county of Flint, by whom he had two sons and one daughter; Sir Thomas Egerton, who served bravely under the Earl of Essex at Cadiz, and afterwards in Ireland, where he died unmarried; John, who succeeded his father, and was, within a few weeks after his death, created Earl of Bridgewater; and Mary, wife of Sir Francis Leigh, of Newnham Regis, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath. The Chancellor married secondly Elizabeth, sister to Sir George More, of Loseley, in Surrey, widow of Sir John Wolley, of Pitford, in the same county; and, thirdly, Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, and widow of Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby; but had no issue by either.



Engraved by H. Rolin

SIR WALTER RALFIGH

OB 1618

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VUCCHIRO IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBIL III MARQUIS OF RAIN

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

THE history of Raleigh has always been an object of anxious and busy enquiry, and the pains that have been taken to render it complete seem to have been rewarded with the most ample success. This will ever be the case with one who moved in so many spheres of action, and shone so brightly in such various classes of fame. The soldier will cherish the reputation of heroes, the critic, of writers; the politician, of statesmen; but in this individuality of attention, in this unconscious singleness of fellow feeling, how many inestimable notices of general character are overlooked, and irrecoverably lost! The life of Raleigh, on the other hand, was a sort of public property, in which every taste and every profession had an interest, and each therefore has lent a helping hand to raise and perfect the biographical monument which has been erected to his memory. To endeavour to add to such a story would be hopeless labour. to select from it can be little better than dull repetition.

Raleigh was descended from a family of high antiquity in Devonshire. He was a younger son of a gentleman of his names who was seated in a mansion called Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood, near Plymouth, by his third wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun, of Modbury, and widow of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, all which parishes are in that county. He was born in 1552, and exactly well educated, first under the care of his father, and afterwards in Oriel College, of which he was entered at about the age of sixteen, and which he left, though his residence there had little exceeded one year, with a high reputation for academical attainments. In the autumn of 1569 he entered into public life in the character of a soldier, in a troop of

a hundred gentlemen volunteers, raised by his relation Henry Champernown, which attached itself to the expedition then fitted out by the order of Elizabeth for the succour of the Huguenots in France. In this service, which was of the most arduous character, he remained for not less than five years, and is supposed to have returned in 1576, in which year it is evident that he resided in chambers in the Middle Temple, a circumstance which has given occasion to some contest among his biographers which might have been effectually set at rest by reference to his trial, on which he took occasion expressly to declare that he had never studied the law. He remained however not long inactive, for in 1577 he made a campaign in the Low Countries under the command of Norris, and in the following year, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one of the celebrated navigators of that day, who was his uterine brother, having obtained a patent from the Queen to colonize in North America, Raleigh embarked with him in that expedition. It proved unsuccessful. They were met on their voyage by a Spanish fleet of superior force, and defeated, and Raleigh, returning just at the period when a new insurrection, aided by the intrigues and the troops of Spain, had broken out in Ireland, flew to the scene of action, and now proved that he possessed, in addition to the personal bravery for which he was already distinguished, all other qualifications for a military commander. The government of Munster, a post then of the greatest importance, was intrusted to him, jointly with two old officers of established fame; a few months after he was appointed Governor of Cork; and these were his first public employments.

The Irish insurgents having been for the time reduced, he arrived in England towards the end of the year 1581, to seek preferment at the Court. It has been said that he first attracted Elizabeth's notice by a singular sort of compliment. that happening to be near her when she was walking abroad, and met with a marshy spot which she hesitated whether to pass over, he stepped suddenly forward, and taking off his velvet cloak, spread it

on the place for her to tread on. The same light authorities inform us that, shortly after he had thus introduced himself, he wrote with a diamond on a window in one of her private apartments, "Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall;" which coming to her knowledge, she wrote under it, "If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all." Such gallantries were neither inconsistent with the fashion of the time, nor with Elizabeth's taste: whether they really occurred or not, it is certain that she now took him in some measure under her protection; and indeed he possessed all the requisites to captivate her weakness, as well as her deliberate opinion. "He had," says Sir Robert Naunton, "in the outward man a good presence, and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and to these he had the adjuncts of some general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation and perfection; for he was an indefatigable reader, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers, both of men and the times." These powers he found an opportunity soon after of bringing into action with the happiest effect, on the occasion of a difference which, having occurred during his service in Ireland between himself and the Deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, had been referred by a Council of War in that country to the Privy Council of England, before which it was heard in the spring of 1583. "I am somewhat confident," adds Naunton, "among the second causes of his growth was the variance between him and my Lord General Grey, in his descent into Ireland, which drew them both over to the Council Table, there to plead their own causes; where what advantage he had in the case in controversy I know not, but he had much the better in the telling of his tale; insomuch as the Queen and the Lords took no slight mark of the man, and his parts: for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the Lords, and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply, and learn the way of progression. And whether or no

my Lord of Leicester had then cast in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done no harm, I do not determine ; but true it is he had gotten the Queen's ear at a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands ; and the truth is she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all ; yea, those that he relied on began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his."

Whether it was with the view in one who seems not to have abounded in prudence of avoiding these jealousies, or to gratify an inclination to project and enterprise which certainly belonged to his nature, it is now perhaps too late to learn, but Raleigh, in this moment of triumphant favour, and for several succeeding years, seems to have devoted his serious attention exclusively to maritime discovery and speculation. In 1583 he sailed towards Newfoundland, as Vice Admiral of a fleet of four ships, commanded by his brother Gilbert, one of which he had manned and victualled at his own charge, and named after himself. The expedition was most unfortunate ; and Gilbert, with two of his ships, was lost in returning to England ; yet in the following year Raleigh laid a plan before the Queen and Council for another, and, by a grant, dated the twenty-fifth of March, 1584, was allowed " free liberty to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands as were not actually possessed by any Christian, nor inhabited by Christian people." He now fitted out two ships for the Gulf of Florida, and the fruit of the voyage was the discovery of Virginia, which is well known to have then received its name from Elizabeth, and where, at his recommendation, she consented to the planting of an English colony, which in the spring of the following year was dispatched thither under his direction in a fleet of seven sail, commanded by his kinsman, Sir Richard Granville, who on his return captured a Spanish ship worth fifty thousand pounds. Even during this voyage he was actively engaged with Sir Adrian Gilbert, another of his half brothers, in an

enterprise to explore the north-west passage, in which those straits which have been denominated from Davis, the ill-fated commander, were first penetrated. In 1586 he fitted out another squadron to Virginia; sent two ships to cruise against the Spaniards, which returned with considerable wealth; and joined George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in a less successful adventure to the South Seas. In 1587, he was still anxiously engaged in the establishment of the new colony, his interests in which he soon after assigned, with certain reservations, to several merchants of London; in the succeeding year distinguished himself in the great overthrow of the Spanish Armada; and in 1589 sailed with Norris and Drake to Portugal on the expedition then undertaken to restore Don Antonio to the throne of that country.

While he was thus engaged, favours and distinctions, whether he courted them or not, were lavishly showered on him. In 1584 he obtained the then envied honour of knighthood; was elected to serve in Parliament for his native county, as he was afterwards for Cornwall; and received in that year a patent for licensing the sale of wines throughout the nation, and in the next a grant of twelve thousand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford. In 1586 he was appointed Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and, a few months after, Captain, that is to say Commander, of the Queen's guard. Great estates in the western counties were afterwards bestowed on him by Elizabeth, particularly the manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, where he built, says Coker, in his Survey of that County, "in a park adjoining to the Castle, out of the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of much variety and delight." In the mean time his public and private conduct seem to have been marked by the most perfect independence: he neither led nor served any party; nor do we discover a single instance of his having used that influence which he certainly possessed over the affections of Elizabeth to any unworthy end, nor of his having endeavoured

to increase, or even to maintain it by adulation or servile compliance. On the contrary, his professions, and indeed his practices, were not unfrequently in opposition to her religious or political notions. In receding contemptuously from the ridiculous complexities of school divinity, he is said to have fallen into contrary errors, and to have become a sceptic, if not a deist. The Queen reasoned with him on these subjects, and censured his opinions with sharpness, but he disdained to disavow them. He defended the learned puritan Udal, who had libelled the Hierarchy with the most virulent bitterness, and, when that minister was therefore condemned for high treason, interfered successfully to save his life. His interest seems indeed to have been continually exerted in the service of others, and we are told that Elizabeth once said to him, alluding to the frequency of such his requests, "When, Sir Walter, will you cease to be a beggar?" to which he answered, "When your Majesty shall cease to be beneficent."

In 1592 he sailed again on an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, with a strong force, raised by himself and others, to which Elizabeth added two of her best ships of war. It was prevented by storms from reaching its destination, and he returned, but his shattered fleet after his departure captured a Portuguese carrack, said to have been the richest prize that had ever been brought to England. The discovery of his amour with Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's maids of honour, occurred just at this period, an offence, which, though he made the best atonement in his power by marrying the lady, Elizabeth punished by imprisoning them in the Tower for many months. It should seem that this severity was dictated rather by prudence, and a sense of propriety, than by resentment, for he certainly received eminent proofs of the Queen's favour immediately after his liberation, yet it is held by several writers that the umbrage into which he fell on this occasion determined him once more to quit England, while others,

with perhaps as little reason, ascribe that resolution to the envy and jealousy by which he was assailed at home. It is highly probable that his motive was simply the acquisition of wealth to support his enormous expenses, for no man of his time surpassed him in magnificence. He tilted in silver armour, wearing a sword and belt set with diamonds, rubies, and pearls; appeared at Court on solemn occasions, covered with jewels, nearly to the value of seventy thousand pounds; and his retinue and table were maintained with proportionate splendour. It is in perfect agreement with a just notion of Raleigh's character to suppose that he wished to owe these luxuries to his own exertions, and his choice of the country to which he now directed his speculations tends in no small degree to favour that conjecture.

He had long contemplated the full discovery of Guiana, in South America, and in the spring of 1594 dispatched a trusty person thither, on whose favourable report he sailed in the following February, and returning in August 1595, described to Elizabeth in the most glowing colours the inexhaustible riches of the soil, on which he besought her to plant a colony. She refused, but to console him for the disappointment, named him Admiral in the expedition of the next year, which ended in the capture of Cadiz, and also in that of the summer of 1597, which is so largely treated of by most of our historians, under the name of the Island Voyage. In both those enterprises Essex had the chief command, and it was in the latter that an unhappy discord arose between these great men, which perhaps accelerated the fall of the one, and was certainly pregnant with the more distant fate of the other. It was clear that the success of the plan had been sacrificed to their envious rivalry, and their misconduct was discussed at home with unusual freedom. They returned, overflowing with mutual reproaches, to the disgraceful consolations usually sought by men so circumstanced; Essex to become the leader of a senseless mob, and Raleigh to resign his independence into the hands of a minister of state. Tempted by views of gratifying his

resentment, this great man became a dupe to the artifices of Cecil, who cherished him for the hour as a willing instrument to thwart the ambition, and undermine the favour, of Essex. Of his willingness we have indeed subsequently too frightful a proof in a letter that has been more than once printed, written by him to the Secretary after Essex had been made prisoner, from which, amidst some ambiguity of expression, it may be inferred that he thirsted for the blood of that unhappy favourite. Raleigh was now flattered by moderate favours, and cajoled by splendid hopes. The management in the House of Commons of affairs in which the Crown was peculiarly interested seems to have been committed chiefly to him during the remainder of this reign: He obtained in 1598 a grant of the pre-emption of Cornish tin, a privilege of great lucre; was sent Ambassador to Flanders, with Lord Cobham, in the summer of 1600; and in the autumn of that year was appointed Governor of Jersey. Meanwhile he was fallaciously encouraged to expect the great and arduous post of Deputy of Ireland, and the dignity of a Baron.

But Cecil's sole purpose was at length accomplished. Essex had been finally disposed of, and Raleigh in his turn became an object of jealousy and fear. His fortune now hung on the slender thread that supported the life of Elizabeth, for he was too firmly fixed in her favour to be shaken by any effort of malice or intrigue while he remained her servant; but Cecil had not neglected to infuse bitter prejudices against him into the mean and timid mind of her successor, who on mounting the throne received him with coolness, and soon after dismissed him from his employments. Raleigh, in searching for the motives to this indignity, detected the wicked baseness of the Secretary, and, in the first moments of a generous irritation, presented a memorial against him to the King, in which, among many other heavy accusations, he denounced Cecil as a main instrument in causing the death of the unfortunate Mary. The intelligence was received by James with indifference, but it naturally changed the

aversion of Cecil into the deepest hatred ; while Raleigh, deceived, persecuted, and threatened, by the minister, and neglected by the King, threw himself into the arms of a small party, headed by two noblemen, distinguished only by their bitterness against James and his countrymen. With these, Brook, Lord Cobham, and Thomas Lord Grey de Wilton, he certainly in some measure engaged in that conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, the singular extravagancy of which is familiar to all readers of English history, but how far short his offence fell of treason, his trial, which took place at Winchester, on the seventeenth of November, 1603, will abundantly prove. The utter deficiency of evidence in support of the charge ; the courage, candour, and ready wit and judgement displayed by himself ; and the brutal speeches of Coke, the Attorney General ; combine to render that document a record of one of the most curious and interesting juridical processes on record. He was however found guilty by a jury more barbarous even than his prosecutors, for when the verdict was communicated to Coke, who happened not to be in the court when it was delivered, he exclaimed to the messenger, “ surely thou art mistaken, for I myself accused him but of misprision of treason.” He received sentence, and remained at Winchester in daily expectation of death for about a month, during which he appealed to James’s mercy, and on the fifteenth of December received a reprieve, and was removed to the Tower, where he continued a prisoner for twelve years. There it is well known that he became an historian, a philosopher, and a poet, and raised a fame for almost universal science equal to his former reputation for arms and enterprize. The severity of his imprisonment was from time to time slackened, and on the twenty-fifth of March, 1616, he was at length released, on the intercession of the new favourite Villiers, some of whose retainers had been bribed by a large sum to move their master to that end. Stripped of his estates by attainder, the sport of his enemies, and timidly abandoned by his friends, nothing now remained to this great man but

his admirable powers of mind and body, and that spirit of boundless activity which had ever distinguished both, and which the severity of his fortune had left wholly unimpaired. He was no sooner at large than he undertook a new voyage to Guiana, and James, tempted by the prospect of boundless wealth, readily granted him on the twenty-sixth of August following, a commission, under the Great Seal, of Admiral. Raleigh, rendered cautious by injustice and calamity, was desirous to obtain a specific pardon before his departure, and consulted his friend Bacon, then Lord Keeper, who fatally assured him that his commission might always be pleaded fully to that effect. After long preparation, and an expense of more than ten thousand pounds, collected with the utmost difficulty, he sailed on the twenty-eighth of March, 1617. Treachery and cowardice combined to blast, together with the views of his expedition, all his future hopes. Through the vigilance and artifice of Gondamor, Ambassador from Madrid, and the base pusillanimity of James, his design was betrayed to the Spaniards at Guiana before his arrival, and he found a superior force in full array to receive him. He attempted to force a passage, and was defeated. "Never," says he, in a narrative which he published after his return, "was poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was: for, being commanded by my allegiance to set down not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it; to name my ship's number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to his master, the King of Spain:" nor was this the partial complaint of a disappointed and enraged commander, for the history of that time abounds in evidences of the justice of his charge. In this unhappy warfare his eldest son fell, bravely fighting. The news of his discomfiture reached London, and the terrified James instantly issued a proclamation, declaring that he had in his original orders to Raleigh, expressly prohibited any act of hostility against the Spaniards, and threatening a severe punishment. Raleigh arrived at Plymouth a few days after; was arrested on his road to London;

and, after two attempts to escape, was, on the tenth of August, once more closely imprisoned in the Tower. It is unnecessary to stain these pages with a detail of the monstrous perversions of law, and justice, and humanity, under the pretext of which the blood of this admirable person was shed, for it may be found in every general history of his country. After the solemn mockery of a conference held by all the Judges, he was, on the twenty-eighth of October, brought to the King's Bench bar, and required to say why execution of the sentence passed on him fifteen years before should not now be awarded; defended himself with a vigour of argument and beauty of eloquence, which astonished all who heard him; and was the next day, under the authority of a special warrant signed by the King, beheaded in Old Palace Yard, Westminster.

To give an ample and correct view of the infinitely diversified character of Raleigh would double the extent of these pages. A general idea of the wonderful powers which distinguished it may perhaps be best conveyed by a few words of Anthony Wood, delivered with his usual conciseness and simplicity. "Authors are perplexed," says Wood, "under what topic to place him; whether of statesman, seaman, soldier, chemist, or chronologer, for in all these he did excel; and it still remains a dispute whether the age he lived in was more obliged to his pen or his sword, the one being busy in conquering the new, the other in so bravely describing the old world. The truth is, he was unfortunate in nothing else but the greatness of his wit and advancement. His eminent worth was such, both in domestic polity, foreign expeditions and discoveries, arts and literature, both practive and contemplative, that they seemed at once to conquer both example and imitation. Those that knew him well esteemed him to be a person born to that only which he went about, so dexterous was he in all or most of his undertakings, in court, in camp, by sea, by land, with sword, with pen." For an estimate of the profound learning and exquisite genius which he displayed in various

branches of literature, let me appeal to a few pages prefixed to a very late publication of his scattered poems, in which the strictest truth of criticism is adorned by the utmost force and beauty of expression. On the whole, it is not too much to say that Raleigh was the most eminent man of the age in which he lived; an age enlightened by his talents, and perhaps improved by his example, for he descended to the grave with an exactness of moral reputation, not only unstained, but, with the single exception lately referred to, wholly unsuspected.

The printed productions of his pen which we have the good fortune to possess, for some of his works remain yet unpublished, are his celebrated History of the World—A Relation of the Discovery of Guiana, presented to Queen Elizabeth—Notes of Direction for the Defence of the Kingdom in 1588—The Prerogative of Parliament in England, proved in a dialogue between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace—Instructions to his Son, and posterity—The History of Mahomet—The Prince, or Maxims of State, republished, with the title of “Aphorisms of State”—The Sceptic, or Speculations—Observations on the Magnificence and Opulency of Cities—The State of Government—Letters to the King, and others of Quality—A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant—Observations on the Inventions of Shipping, and Sea Service—Apology for his last Voyage to Guiana—Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollanders—The Cabinet Council, containing the Chief Arts and Mysteries of State—An Historical and Geographical Description of the Great Country and River of the Amazons—Wars with Foreign Princes dangerous to our Commonwealth, or Reasons for Foreign Wars answered—Speeches and Arguments in several Parliaments towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign—The Son’s Advice to His Father—and the Collection of his poetical pieces lately referred to. Most of the smaller tracts here mentioned were collected by Dr. Birch, and republished in 1751, in two volumes.

Sir Walter Raleigh, as has been already said, married Elizabeth

a daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, alias Carew, of Beddington, in Surrey. He had by her two sons; Walter, unmarried, who was killed, as has been already said, by the Spaniards in South America, and Carew. As the subsequent issue of Raleigh has, I believe, never yet been publicly noticed, some extended account of it here may be desirable. Carew married Philippa, daughter of Weston, and relict of Sir Anthony Ashley. By that lady he had three daughters, of whom Elizabeth and Mary died spinsters, and Anne, the youngest, became the wife of Sir Peter Tyrrel, of Castlethorpe, in Bucks; and two sons, of whom Walter, the elder, who was seated at West Horsley, in Surrey, an estate which had been purchased by his father, and was knighted soon after the restoration, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Rogers of Sandwell, in Gloucestershire, and left by her three daughters, his coheirs; Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Elwes, Knt.; Philippa, of Oliver Wicks, of Tortington, in Sussex, and Anne, married to William Knight, of Barrels, in the County of Warwick. Philip, the second son of Carew Raleigh, whom I find styled of London, and of Tenchley Meer, in Surrey, married Frances, daughter of a Mr Granville, of Foscot in Buckinghamshire, and had by her four sons, Walter, Brudenel, Granville, and Carew, and three daughters, Frances, Anne, and Elizabeth. Most of them were living in 1695, in which year all the daughters were unmarried. At that period our intelligence ceases.



Engraved by W.T. Fry

MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

OB. 1621

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK GERRARDS IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SMITHLY SIDNEY BART

MARY SIDNEY,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

THIS lady, who possessed in herself qualifications bright enough to have rendered her name famous, and to have added dignity and ornament to the most illustrious blood, enjoyed also the proud distinction of being sister to Sir Philip Sidney. She was daughter to Sir Henry, the wise and worthy Deputy of Ireland, and President of Wales, by Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and seems to have been born about the year 1550. Her maternal uncle, the well known Robert, Earl of Leicester, in whom we find nothing amiable but his affection for her family, negotiated for her a marriage with Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and increased her portion by a large gift from his own purse. A long letter in Collins's Sidney Papers, from Sir Henry to Leicester, dated at Dundalk, in Ireland, on the fourth of February, 1576, contains the following passages relative to the match.

“ Your Lordship's later wrytten letter I received the same day I dyd the first, together with one from my Lord of Penbroke to your Lordship, by both whych I find, to my excedyng' great comfort, the lykleod of a maryage betwyne his Lordshyp and my doghter, whych great honor to me, my mean lynuage and kyn, I attrIBUTE to my match in your noble House, for which I acknoleg myself bound to honor and sarve the same to the uttermost of my power: Yea, so joyfully have I at hart that my dere chyldy's is so happy an advancement as thys ys, as in troth I would ly a year in close pryson rather than yt should breake. But alas, my derest Lord, myne abylyte answereth not my harty desyer.

MARY SIDNEY,

I am poore. Myne estate, as well in lyvelod and moveable, is not unknown to your Lordshyp, whych wanteth mutch to make me able to equal that whych I knowe my Lord of Penbroke may have. Twoo thousand £ I confes I have bequeathed her, whych your Lordship knoweth I myght better spare her whan I wear dead than one thousand lyvyng; and in troth, my Lord, I have yt not, but borro yt I must, and so I will; and, if your Lordshypp wyll get me leave, that I may feede my eyes wyth that joyfull syght of thear couplyng, I wyll gyve her a cup worth fyve hundreth £. Good my Lord, bear wyth my poverty; for, if I had it, lyttell would I regard any sum of money, but wyllingly would gyve it; protestyng before the Almighty God, that if he, and all the powers on earth, would geve me my choyce for a husband for her, I would choose the Earl of Penbroke. I wryte to my Lord of Penbroke, whych hearwyth I send your Lordshyp; and thus I end in answering your most welcom and honorable letter with my harty prayer to Almyghty God to perfect your Lordshypp's good good work, and to requyte you for the same for I am not able."

Within a few weeks after the date of this letter she became wife to the Earl, who had been twice before married.

She seems to have regarded with equal indifference the magnificence of Elizabeth's, and the intrigues of James's courts, and to have devoted herself wholly to the exercise of private virtues, and the retired enjoyment of literary leisure. With regard to such characters the absence of detraction is sufficient evidence of moral merit, for in her time the practice of domestic duties by her sex was too universal to challenge particular praise, and it is the conduct of the worthless therefore that has been chiefly recorded. She had received the learned education which was then usually bestowed on women of her rank, but attained to a proficiency which had before been seldom reached by any. She has left the reputation of having been mistress even of the Hebrew

tongue, and a translation by her, from the original text, of several of the psalms is said to remain, in manuscript, in the library at Wilton. Anthony Wood, and some others, it is true, have told us that she was assisted in it by Babington, who was the Earl's domestic chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester; but if it were so, the assertion will furnish no ground whereon to doubt that she understood the language; since no one who was not already known to possess a competent skill in it durst publicly to have assumed the credit of such a production. Dr. Donne, in one of his poems, speaks of these translations, and with more probability, as the joint work of this lady and her brother.

Possessing, with a powerful and masculine understanding, a considerable richness and variety of fancy, she fell almost naturally into the practice of poetical composition, of which she became passionately fond; but her prose, of which very few specimens remain, is better than her verse: more ornamented, and yet more graceful; more metaphorical, and yet more simple and intelligible. We have a remarkable example of this in the introduction to her translation from the French of Mornay's Discourse of Life and Death. The following passage, in which a fine moral sentiment is clothed in such justness and diversity of thought, and delivered with so much force and elegance of expression, is scarcely to be equalled among the works of the best prose writers of her time.

“ It seems to me strange, and a thing much to be marvelled, that the laborer, to repose himself, hasteneth as it were the course of the sun: that the mariner rowes with all force to attaine the port, and with a joyfull crie salutes the descried land: that the traveller is never quiet nor content till he be at the end of his voyage: and that we, in the meane while, tied in this world to a perpetuall taske; tossed with continuall tempest; tyred with a rough and combersome way; yet cannot see the end of our labour but with grieve, nor behold our port but with teares, nor approach our home, and quiet abode, but with horreur and trembling.

This life is but a Penelope's web, wherein we are always doing and undoing ; a sea open to all winds, which, sometimes withiin sometimes without, never cease to torment us ; a wearie journey through extreame heats and colds ; over high mountaines, steepe rockes, and theevish deserts ; and so we terme it, in weaving at this web, in rowing at this oare, in passing this miserable way. Yet loe, when death comes to end our worke ; when she stretcheth out her armes to pull us into the port ; when, after so many dangerous passages, and lothsome lodgings, she would conduct us to our true home and resting place ; insteade of rejoycing at the end of our labour ; of taking comfort at the sight of our land ; of singing at the approch of our happie mansion ; we would faine, who would beleeeve it ? retake our worke in hande : we would again hoise saile to the wind, and willingly undertake our journey anew. No more then remember we our paines : our shipwracks and dangers are forgotten : we feare no more the travailes or the theeves : contrariwise, we apprehend death as an extreame paine ; we doubt it as a rocke ; we flie it as a thiefe : we do as little children, who all the day complaine, and when the medicine is brought them are no longer sicke ; as they who all the weeke long runne up and downe the streetes with paine of the teeth, and, seeing the barber coming to pull them out, feele no more paine. We feare more the cure then the disease ; the surgeon then the paine. We have more sense of the medicine's bitternesse, soone gone, then of a bitter languishing, long continued ; more feeling of death, the end of our miseries, than the endlesse miserie of our life. We fear that we ought to hope for, and wish for that we ought to fear."

Her poems have never been collectively published, and many perhaps remain unknown among the anonymous pieces so frequent in the numerous miscellanies which appeared within a few years before and after her death. She wrote an Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, which is printed in Spenser's *Astrophel*, and a Pastoral Dialogue, in praise of Astræa (Queen Elizabeth) which appears

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

in Davison's Poetical Rhapsody: the one unworthy of the subject, and of her affection; the other, remarkable chiefly for strange conceit, and coarse expression. A view of the four first stanzas will amply justify this censure; and the reader will not complain that the rest are omitted.

1

- T. I sing divine Astræa's praise
O Muses, help my wits to raise,
And heave my verses higher
P. Thou need'st the truth but plainly tell,
Which much I doubt thou canst not well,
Thou art so great a liar.

2.

- T If in my song no more I shew
Than heaven and earth, and sea do know,
Then truly have I spoken.
P Sufficeth not no more to name,
But being no less, the like the same,
Else laws of truth be broken

3.

- T. Then say she is so good, so fair,
With all the world she may compare,
Nor Momus' self denying
P. Compare may think where likeness holds;
Nought like to her the earth enfolds
I look'd to find you lying.

4.

- T Soon as Astræa shews her face
Strait every ill avoids the place,
And every good aboundeth
P. Nay, long before her face doth shew,
The last doth come, the first doth go,
How loud this lye resoundeth

She translated from the French the Tragedy of Antonius, and seems to have interwoven into it occasionally some verses of her own composition, but neither the play nor her additions deserve much consideration. Her longest work has been least noticed. It is a poem on the sublime subject of our Saviour's Passion,

consisting of no less than one hundred and ten stanzas, a copy of which remains in manuscript, for it has never been printed, among the Harleian Papers. This singular production is equally destitute of plan or connection, and exhibits little either of pious reflection, or historical circumstance. It is alternately bombastic and mean in expression: generally obscure, and frequently unintelligible; yet grand conceptions sometimes flash suddenly on us from this chaos. The following is one of the very few passages in the poem that can claim the praise of regularity, either of thought or diction. It abounds too in a sweet and graceful tenderness.

I saw him faultlesse, yet I did offend him
 I saw him wrong'd, and yet did not excuse him
 I saw his foes, yet sought not to defend him.
 I had his blessings, yet I did abuse him
 But was it myne, or my forefather's deede,
 Whose'ere it was, it makes my hart to bleede.

To see the feete that travayled for our goode;
 To see the hands that brake that livelye breade;
 To see the heade whereon our honor stoode;
 To see the fruite whereon our spyrite fedd—
 Feete pearc'd, handes bored, and his heade all bleedinge—
 Who doth not dye with such a sorrowe readinge?

He plac'd all rest, and had no restinge place:
 He heal'd ech payne, yet liv'd in sore distresse:
 Deserv'd all good, yet liv'd in greate disgrace
 Gave all hartes joy, himselfe in heavynesse:
 Suffred them live by whome himself was slayne.
 Lorde, who can live to see such love againe?

But who will undertake to dispel the more than Sybilline mystery which clouds the meaning of such lines as these?—

There is a lacke that tells me of a life.
 There is a losse that tells me of a love.
 Betwixt them both a state of such a strife
 As makes my spyrit such a passion prove,
 That lacke of one, and t'other's losse, alas!
 Makes me the woefulst wretch that ever was.

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

The truth seems to be that Lady Pembroke, as a poet, was spoiled by adulation, and complimented into self conceit and carelessness. A tribe of small and hungry wits anticipated the efforts of her muse by extravagant praise, and received the fruits of them with affected rapture. Among these we find the names of Harvey, Daniel, France, Lock, Fitzgeffrey, Lanyer, Stradling, and Davies. One of them gravely declares that he will not name her, because he will not "dishonour with his pen her whom he cannot blazon enough," and another calls himself the "Triton of her praise." Bards, however, of a higher class eulogized her in more temperate strains. Spenser designates her as—

The gentlest shepherdess that liv'd that day,
And most resembling, both in shape and spirit,
Her brother dear ,

and the severe and honest Jonson, in that inimitable tribute to her memory which, though already so often published, must be presently once more repeated, is, as well as Spenser, silent on the subject of her poetry. Even Sir Philip Sidney, who loved her to idolatry, and delighted to dwell on her merits, passes it over, I think, wholly unnoticed. It is well known that he dedicated to her his celebrated romance, which he wrote at her request, and entitled it therefore, "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia."

She died, at her house in Aldersgate-street, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1621, having survived her lord for twenty years, and was buried with him in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, leaving two sons, William, and Philip, successively Earls of Pembroke. Ben Jonson has immortalized her name and his own by this epitaph, which it is strange should never have appeared on her tomb.

" Underneath this marble hearse
Lies the subject of all verse :
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother .
Death, ere thou hast slain another
Wise, and fair, and good, as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee."

5



Engraved by J. Cochran

THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF EXETER

OB 1621

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF EXETER

THOMAS CECIL,

FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

THIS Peer, who seems to have been a man of talents at least respectable, and who certainly maintained always a most unblemished reputation, wisely and modestly contented himself with the reflected dignity of his father's splendid and spotless fame, and left to his younger brother the painful pre-eminence of emulating it in the exercise of the highest offices of the State. He was the only son of the admirable William Lord Burghley, by his first Lady, Mary, daughter of Peter, and sister of the noted Sir John, Cheke, and was born on the fifth of May, 1542. His education, considering his rank, was probably but decent. His father entertained singular opinions on that important subject, and they stand recorded. In a letter to George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1575, Burghley says "I wish your son all the good education that may be meet to teach him to fear God, love your Lordship, his natural father, and to know his friends, without any curiosity of human learning, which, without the fear of God, I see doth great hurt to all youth in this time and age." It is but reasonable to suppose that he trained his own children in some conformity to remarkable principles thus privately avowed to a most confidential friend.

Be this as it might, his heir attached himself to a military life. He was however returned a burgess for the town of Stamford as soon as he had attained the age of twenty-one, and represented that borough in two future Parliaments, as he did afterwards repeatedly the counties of Lincoln and Northampton. In 1573 he was a volunteer in Sir William Drury's inroad into Scotland, and served with credit in the obstinate siege and reduction of

Edinburgh by which it was rendered remarkable. An original letter written by him to his father, immediately upon his return from that expedition, may be found in the Cotton MSS., and seems to deserve a place here, not only because it exhibits features somewhat characteristic of the writer, but for the mention of that remarkable person, Maitland of Lethington, who, on the failure of his suit here alluded to for Elizabeth's merciful intercession, shortly afterwards died by his own hand at Leith.

“My dewty unto y^r Lordshipp most humbly remembrid, wth the like humble requeste of your dailye blessing boothe to me and myne, it may please yo^r. Lordshipp to understand that uppo^m my comming home, w^{ch} was the vith of this present, I fownde my grandmother newly come to remayne here at yo^r Lordshipp's howse, whereof my wife & I doo take no small comforte. It hath pleased her to graunte for the bourding of hirselve, hir two maydes, & hir man, hir tithe of S^t Martin's, and the milke of tenne of hir kye at Burghley. Hir sight is almoste quite decayed, & withowt any hoope of recovery, so as necessitie hath most perswaded hir to beginne to give over the worlde, and so I trust the great quiettnes she shall receive therby wilbe an occasion of the prolonging of hir yeres.”

“Uppon th' ending of the troubles of Scottland, I was in minde, withe the compagny of th' Imbassador to have done my reuerence unto the yong King, so as by reason of his late dissease of the small pockes it was not thought a tyme convenient. The Rejeant's grace bestowed a hawke uppon me at my coming awaye, w^{ch}, for lacke of cariage, I lefte behinde me.”

“It may please yo^r Lordshipp, uppon my coming awaye, & after some tyme of discourse withe the Lorde Liddingto^m, w^{ch} onely tended to the assured hoope he repoosed in the Quene's Ma^{tie's} mercy, & yo^r Lordshipp's good meane, he required me, wth his most humble com^mendations, to recom^mend this his letter w^{ch} I send unto yo^r Lordshipp, and to accompagny the same wth my good

FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

reporte of himself, whoose life semith to be so deare unto him as I doo not mistruste butt he will promise inough; howsoever he meanith to perfourme it, and therfore I remayne doubtfull what reporte to make. The beste is he is oratour good inough for him selfe, and in that respect I leave him to be his own advocate."

" Thus I leave yo^r. Lordshipp to the government of Almighty God. From yo^r Lordshipp's House of Burghley, the viith of June, 1573

" Yo^r Lordshipp's moste loving & obedient sonne,

" THO. CECILL."

He was knighted by Elizabeth during her remarkable visit to the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth, in July, 1575, and took a part in the performance of the splendid masques and pageants by which it was distinguished. So too in 1581 he was among the foremost of the challengers, and acquired great credit, in the justs and tournaments which were exhibited at the Court to celebrate the arrival of the Queen's suitor, the Duke of Alençon. In 1585 he joined the little army then sent to the Netherlands, whether in the character of a volunteer, or with any appointed command, we are not informed, and, on the delivery to Elizabeth of what were called the cautionary towns, was appointed Governor of the Brill. He remained for a little more than two years in the Low Countries, and, soon after his return, still cherishing his warlike inclination, embarked in the great fleet which was fitted out to sustain the attack of the Spanish Armada, and was personally engaged in the celebrated contest of six days which terminated in the discomfiture of the assailants. On the fourth of August, 1598, he succeeded, on the departure of his father, to the Barony of Burghley, and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1601, was installed a Knight of the Garter.

The affection of James to Sir Robert Cecil, his half brother, abundantly recommended Burghley to the notice of that Prince, who, immediately on his accession, caused him to be sworn of the

Privy Council, appointed him Lord Lieutenant of the County of Northampton, and soon after offered him an Earldom, a dignity which at that time he declined to accept. Collins, in his Peerage, has printed a letter from him, conveying that refusal, and addressed to "Sir John Hobart," whom Collins calls "Attorney General." Here is some gross mistake, which however cannot be corrected, as no reference is given to the repository in which the original remains. Sir John Hobart never was Attorney General. His father, Sir Henry, did hold that office, but he was not appointed to it till three years after the date of the letter in question, nor was his son John, or any other John Hobart, at that time a Knight. The probability is that it was addressed to some other person of distinction, and that Collins mis-read the name. Of the genuineness of the letter in all other respects there can be no reason to doubt. I give it here as it stands in the Peerage.

"Sir John Hubbert,

"Your letter fownde me in such estate as rather I desyred three days ease of payne than to delyght to think of anny tytyle of honnour—I am resolvyd to contente myself with this estate I have of a Baron, and my p̃sent estate of lyving, howsoever those of the world hath enlargyd it, I fynd lyttell inough to meyntheyne the degree I am in; and I am sure they that succeed me wyll be less hable to maynteyne it then I am, consydering there wyll goo owt of the Baronage three yonger broother's lyvings. This is all I can wryte unto you at this tyme, being full of payne, and therfore yow must be content wyth this my brefe wryting; and I give yow my very hartie thanks for yo^r good wyshes, and thynk myself beholdyng to those my friends that had care of me therin; and so I rest,

Burghley,
this 12th of January, 1603.

your assured frend,
THO. BURGHLEY."

He afterwards consented to accept this title. On the fourth of

FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

May, 1605, a patent passed the Great Seal creating him Earl of Exeter; and on the same day his brother was advanced to the Earldom of Salisbury, with a special reservation of precedence of him, which is said to have caused for a time some ill-blood between them. Their difference however was speedily accommodated, for the envy and malice excited by this simultaneous accumulation of honours on the two brothers, and the unlimited favour and confidence bestowed by the King on one of them, rendered it prudent for them to make common cause with each other. They were assailed by anonymous libels and pasquinades; their merits undervalued, their very persons ridiculed, and their descent charged with obscurity. On the last of these points the good old Treasurer had always been peculiarly tender and tenacious, and the more because the antiquity of his family was really doubtful; and his sons had followed his example. An original letter from the Earl of Exeter, curiously illustrative of this disposition in them, remains in the Harleian collection, and well merits insertion among these notices of the writer.

“Coosyn Allyngto~,

Ther is some cawse of late fallen owt of one that gives reproachfull wordes against my broother, and therewithall sayd that it was a strange thyng that such a one as he, whose grandfather was a syvemaker, shold rule the whole State of England; and, though y^e malyce of the party was towards hym, yett I must be lykewyse sensyble therof myself, being booth dycendid fro~ hym; thirfor I have thought good to requyre you fourthwth to take the paynes to make search in my study at Burghley amo~gst my boxes of my evyde~ces, and I thynk you shall fynd y^e very wrytt itself by the w^{ch} my gra~dfather, or great gra~dfather, or booth, were made Sheriffs of Ly~col~shyre or Northa~pto~shyre, and lykewyse a warra~t fro~ y^e Duke of Suffolk in Kyng Henry th'eight's tyme to my gra~dfather, and old Mr. Wy~gfyld, that dead is, for the certifying towchy~g y^e fall of woodds in Clyff parke,

THOMAS CECIL,

or Rockygha Forrest, by the name of 'Davy Cecyll Esquyre,' w^{ch} tittle at those dayes was not usyd but to such that ware gentyllme~ of note, wher comonly they were entytled but by y^e name of gentyllme~. If you have anny record of yo^r owne to shewe the dyscent of my great gra~dfather I pray you send a note thereof lykewyse. My Lord my father's alteryng y^r wryty~g of his name makith many y^t are not well affectyd to owr Howse to dowbt whyther we be ryghtly descendid of y^e Howse of Wales, becawse they wryght ther names 'Sitselt,' and o^r name is wrytte~ 'Cecyll:' my gra~dfather wrote it 'Syssell,' and so in ortography all these names dyffer, wherof I mervayl what movyd my L. my father to alter it. I have my Lord's pedegree very well set owl, which he left unto me. I pray you lett this be secrett unto yoursele, w^{ch} my broother of Sallysburye disyred me so to give in charge unto you: and so I com~end me very kyndly unto your selfe, and my good awnte yo^r wyffe. Fro~ London, this xiiith of November, 1605.

Yo^r very lovy~g coosyn and frend,

To my looving frende and
cosen, Hugh Allington, Esquyer.

EXETER."

He continued, doubtless by his own choice, to live chiefly in a splendid privacy. In 1616 he was appointed, with some more Privy Counsellors, to restore the cautionary towns in foim to the States General. He seems, towards the conclusion of his life, to have taken up an inclination to Church-government, for in 1618 he accepted a nomination, with others, to proceed summarily against Jesuits and seminary priests, with authority to banish them the realm, and in 1620 was joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in a special Ecclesiastical commission for that province, and, towards the end of the same year, in another for that of York. He left some proofs too, not only of a charitable disposition, but of an affection to learning, for he founded and endowed a hospital at Lidington, in Rutlandshire, for a-warden, twelve

poor men, and two women ; and gave an estate to Clare Hall, in Cambridge, for the maintenance of three fellows, and eight scholars. He died on the seventh of February, 1621, O.S. and was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, in Westminster Abbey, where a magnificent monument remains to his memory.

This nobleman was twice married ; first, to Dorothy, daughter and coheir of John Lord Latimer, by whom he had a very numerous issue. The sons were William, his successor, Richard, from whom the present Marquis of Exeter is descended ; Edward, a celebrated military commander, who was created by King Charles the first Baron Cecil of Putney, and Viscount Wimbleton, and died without male issue ; Christopher ; and Thomas—the daughters—Catherine, who died unmarried ; Lucy, wife of William Powlett, third Marquis of Winchester ; Mildred, married first to Sir Thomas Read, secondly to Sir Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, in Lancashire ; Mary, to Edward Lord Denny ; Susan, who died unmarried ; Elizabeth, wife, first to Sir William Hatton, and after, to the Lord Chief Justice Coke ; Dorothy, married to Sir Giles Allington, of Horseheath, in Cambridgeshire ; and Frances, to Sir Nicholas Tufton, afterwards created Earl of Thanet. He took to his second Lady, Frances, eldest daughter of William Brydges, fourth Lord Chandos, widow of Sir Thomas Smith, of Parson's Green, in Middlesex, and had by her one daughter, Sophia Anne, who died young, and unmarried.



Engraved by S Freeman

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON

OB 1624

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MIREVELT IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

OF the life of this nobleman, who was the third Earl of Southampton of his name, some pains have been of late years taken to collect the scattered circumstances. History could scarcely have avoided mentioning a man who had been deeply and actively engaged in Essex's singular conspiracy, and had suffered therefore a severe punishment, but it has gone little further. He was however not only the friend of Essex, but the patron of Shakespeare; more than one of whose numerous commentators, unwilling wholly to lose their labour, have furnished us with many miscellaneous notices of Southampton which occurred in their almost fruitless researches on the peculiar subject of that patronage. He was a man of no very unusual character, in whom several fine qualities were shadowed by some important defects. His understanding seems to have been lively and acute; and his acquired talents united to a competent erudition, an extensive and correct taste for polite letters, and the most highly finished manners. His friendships were ardent and lasting, his personal courage almost proverbial, and his honour wholly unsuspected: but his mind was fickle and unsteady; a violent temper engaged him in frequent quarrels, and in enmities injurious to his best interests; and he was wholly a stranger to that wary circumspection which is commonly dignified by the name of prudence.

He was the second of the two sons of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and was born on the sixth of October, 1573. His father and his elder brother died before he had reached the age of twelve years, for on the eleventh of December, 1585, he was admitted, as appears

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

by the books of that house, a student of St. John's College, in Cambridge, with the denomination of "Henry, Earl of Southampton" He took there, in 1589, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and seems to have left the University in that year, to proceed on his travels. "He spent his time," says one of his eulogists, in a tract so scarce that I have never been able to meet with a copy, "at Cambridge, in the study of good letters, and afterwards confirmed that study with travel and foreign observation." The little volume in question is intituled "Honour in his perfection, or a Treatise in commendation of the virtues and renowned virtuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroic Princes, Henry Earl of Oxenford, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Robert Earl of Essex, by G. M." which Mr. Malone, whose abstract of some passages in the book I shall use in the next paragraph, supposes, on authority which he does not state, to have meant Geivase Markham.

He went with the Earl of Essex as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596; and in the following year was appointed to command the Garland, one of Elizabeth's best ships, and acted as Vice Admiral of the first squadron in the fleet that sailed against the Azores. In that expedition happening, with only three of the Queen's ships, and a few merchant-men, to fall in with thirty-five sail of Spanish galleons, laden with the treasures of South America, he sunk one of them, dispersed several others that were afterwards taken, and drove the rest into a bay of the island of Tercera, which was then unassailable. After the English had taken and spoiled the town of Villa Franca, the enemy, finding that most of them were gone aboard their ships, and that only the Earls of Essex and Southampton, with a few others, remained on shore, came down upon them with all their force, but were received with such spirit that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the rest obliged to retreat. On this occasion he behaved with such gallantry that he was knighted in the field by Essex, "ere," says the author, "he could dry the

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

sweat from his brows, or put his sword up in the scabbard." In these warlike services, the proper cradle for the friendship of such spirits as theirs, was nursed to maturity the earnest affection which these accomplished men ever after bore to each other.

In 1598 Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Southampton accompanied him thither, and on their arrival was made General of the Horse, "clean contrary," says Camden, "to the Deputy's instructions;" for it seems that Southampton had not long before offended Elizabeth by marrying without that permission which, even so lately as in her reign, it was expected that the nobility should ask of the Crown, and had therefore been expressly excepted by her from promotion. She condescended to admonish the Deputy to displace him, and was silently disobeyed. The succeeding disgusts and intemperances of Essex are well known. Early in their progress he formed the project of returning at the head of a select party, with the view of reducing his adversaries in England by force of arms, and Southampton is said to have dissuaded him for the time from that wild attempt. They came home soon after however, privately and submissively: Essex was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper; and Southampton retired from Court unquestioned; and thus matters remained for several months, till at length they appeared together in open insurrection in the beginning of the year 1601, were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty by their Peers. Southampton's daring spirit was appalled by this awful process, and his defence was neither dignified nor candid. "He asked pardon," to use the words of Camden, "for his crime, which was purely owing, he said, to his affection for the Earl of Essex; and, after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen, added that some proposals for seizing the Palace, and the Tower, were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the whole matter being referred to Essex: that what was acted was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, viz. their going into the city, which was with no other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the wrongs that were done him: that his sword had not been drawn all that day: that he heard nothing of the proclamation wherein they were declared rebels: that he hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired that the cause might be decided by rules of equity; not the nicety and quirks of the law. He humbly implored the Queen's mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him; and this he did," concludes Camden, "in so modest and becoming a way, as excited a compassion in all who were there present." Essex, who disdained to offer any request for himself, urged the Lords, with a noble earnestness, to interpose with the Queen to spare his friend. Southampton was condemned to die, and left for many weeks to expect the execution of his sentence, which Elizabeth at length remitted, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower till her death.

Few men ever experienced through the peaceable transmission of a sceptre from one hand to another a reverse of fortune so complete as befel Southampton on the accession of James. "That Prince," as Mr. Chalmers well observes, "recollecting the intrigues of Essex, and the conspiracy of Gowry, acted on his arrival as if he had thought that rebellion against Elizabeth was a rising for him." On the first of April, 1603, six days only after her decease, the King despatched from Scotland an order, directed, singularly enough, "to the nobility of England, and the Council of State sitting at Whitehall," for Southampton's release, whom he complimented at the same time by a special invitation to meet him on his road to his new dominions. On the tenth he was set at liberty, and immediately restored to the estates that he had forfeited by his attainder. He was installed a Knight of the Garter on the second of the following July, and appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-first of the same month was legally repossessed of his titles by a new patent. An annual pension of six hundred pounds was settled on his

· EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

Countess : in the beginning of the succeeding year he was named Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire; and the first bill which was read in James's first Parliament was for his restitution in blood.

Amidst this tide of favour some cause of umbrage occurred which is no where clearly explained, and towards the end of June, 1604, he was suddenly arrested, and, after a few days, as suddenly set at liberty. Mr. Malone, probably on the authority of the tract before spoken of, informs us, that the cause alledged for his apprehension was disaffection to the Crown, but that it arose in fact from the machinations of Salisbury, the great adversary of the Essex party, who had persuaded James that an improper intimacy subsisted between Southampton and the Queen. He was presently restored, however, to his wonted station, but the engagements of the Court were insufficient to employ his busy, and indeed turbulent mind, and, having vainly endeavoured to obtain employment in the State, in which he could not even so far succeed as to gain a seat in the Privy Council, he plunged deeply into speculations of traffic and colonization; became a member of the Virginia company, and was chosen Treasurer of that corporation, which had not long been established; and took an active part in the project of sending ships to the American coast on voyages of trade and discovery. Meanwhile he engaged in the coarse diversions of the town, and fell into the disgraceful broils which then generally attended them. Mr. John Chamberlain, one of the many agreeable newsmongers of that day, writes to Sir Ralph Winwood, on the second of May, 1610, "indeed it were fitter that our Court gallants had some place abroad to vent their superfluous valour than to brabble so much as they do here at home, for in one week we had three or four great quarrels; the first 'twixt the Earls of Southampton and Montgomery, that fell out at tennis, where the rackets flew about their ears, but the matter was taken up and compounded by the King, without further bloodshed." The taste for military

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

affairs did in fact soon after recur on him ; he made more than one visit to the Low Countries, and in 1614 accompanied the romantic Lord Herbert of Cherbury at the siege of Rees, in the Duchy of Cleve.

In 1617, he attended the King in his journey into Scotland, and so far ingratiated himself with that Prince during his long visit to his native land that the distinction which he had for some years solicited in vain was conferred on him soon after his return: on the nineteenth of April, 1619, he was sworn of the Privy Council. This gratification probably led to new requests, and consequent disappointments, now forgotten. Certain however it is that soon after he had received it he joined the party in opposition to the Court, and exerted his talents and his vivacity to the utmost in thwarting the desires of the King, and the measures of his ministers, in Parliament. He now fell again into disgrace: In the spring of 1621 he had a sharp altercation with the favourite Buckingham in the House of Peers, which Camden has thought important enough to mention thus particularly in his brief Annals of King James. " March 14, there was some quarrelling between the M. of Buckingham, and Southampton and Sheffield, who had interrupted him for repeating the same thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved order in Parliament; but the Prince reconciled them." This affront however was not forgotten by the haughty Buckingham. On the sixteenth of the following June, twelve days after the adjournment of Parliament, Southampton was confined in the house of the Dean of Westminster, on the charge of mischievous intrigues with some members of the Commons, and afterwards to his own seat of Titchfield, in the custody of a Sir William Parkhurst. The following letter of proud submission, the original of which may be found in the Harleian collection, was addressed by him on that occasion to the Lord Keeper Williams.

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

My Lo.

I have found your Lo. alredy so favorable and affectionate unto mee that I shall be still herafter desierus to acquaint you wth what concernes mee, & bould to aske your advice & counsell, w^{ch} makes mee now send this bearer to geve your Lo. an account of my answer from Court, w^{ch} I cannot better doe then by sendinge unto you the answer itself, w^{ch} you shall receave heereinlosed, wherein you may see what is expected from mee—that I must not onely magnifie his Ma^{tie}'s gracious dealinge wth mee, but cause all my frendes to doe the lyke, & restrayne them from makinge any extenuation of my errors, w^{ch} if they bee disposed to doe, or not to doe, is impossible for mee to alter, that am not lykely for a good time to see any other then my owne famely. For myself, I shall ever bee ready, as is fitt, to acknowlege his Ma^{tie}'s favor to mee, but can hardly perswade myself that any error by mee com^{mitted} deserved more punishment then I have had, & hope his Ma^{tie} will not expect that I should confess myselfe to have been subject to a Starre-chamber sentence, w^{ch} God forbidd I should ever doe. I have, & shall doe accordinge to that part of my Lo. of Buckingham's advice, to speake as little of it as I can; and so shall I doe in other thinges, to meddle as little as I can. I purpose, God willinge, to goe tomorrow to Tichfield, the place of my confinement, there to stay as long as the King shall please. Sir William Parkhurst must goe wth mee, who hoped to been discharged at the returne of my messenger from Court, & seames much trobled that hee is not, pretendinge that it is extreeme inconvenient for him, in regard of his owne occations. Hee is fearfull lest hee should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lo. writes to the Court if you would putt my Lo. of Buckingham in remembrance of it you shall, I thinke, doe him a favour. For my part, it is so little troble to mee, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returnes I

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

beseech you returne by him the inclosed L^{re}, & beleeeve that,
whatsoever I am, I will ever bee

your Lo. most assured frend, to do you servis,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

To the right honorable my very good Lo. the

Lo. Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

On the first of September he was set at liberty. That the offence offered by him to Buckingham had been his only fault is evident from certain passages in two remarkable letters from Williams, both written on the first of August, 1621, which are printed in the Cabala, the first in answer to that of Southampton here given, which concludes thus—"For mine own part, assure yourself I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue as long as you make good your professions to this noble Lord; of whose extraordinary goodness your Lordship and myself are remarkable reflections; the one, of his sweetness in forgetting wrongs; the other of his forwardness in conferring of courtesies." The second is to the Marquis himself, who, as we may infer from the following expressions, still continued somewhat vindictive." "There is no readier way," says the Lord Keeper, "to stop the mouths of idle men than to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of justice, to behold nothing but goodness and mercy"—and again--"Remember your noble self, and forget the aggravations of malice and envy; and then forget, if you can, the Earl of Southampton."

For many months after his enlargement he lived in retirement and privacy, but on the meeting of the next Parliament appeared as the leader of the men of parliamentary business in the House of Peers; was a member of all committees on important affairs; and immersed himself in the study of the forms and privileges of that assembly. From those grave occupations he suddenly withdrew himself to engage once more in active military service. James, compelled by the general feeling of the country to abandon

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

his pacific system, in the summer of 1624 signed a treaty of defensive alliance with the United States, by an article of which they were permitted to raise in England a body of six thousand men. Southampton accepted the command of one of the four regiments into which that force was divided, and led it to its destination, where he had not long remained, when himself, and his eldest son, the Lord Wriothesley, who had attended him on the expedition, were attacked by a violent fever, to which the latter presently fell a victim. The Earl recovered, and, when he had regained sufficient strength for the mournful journey, travelling homewards, with the young man's corpse, was seized with a lethargy at Bergen-op-zoom, where he died on the tenth of November, 1624, and was buried at Titchfield, in Hampshire, on the twenty-eighth of the succeeding month.

Of Lord Southampton's literature, and connection with literary men, little is known but from the doubtful testimony of poets of all degrees of merit, by whom he was loaded with adulation. Shakespeare's two short dedications, however, of the *Poems of Venus and Adonis*, and the *Rape of Lucrece*, addressed to him when a very young man, are exceptions, and are so strongly marked, particularly the second, with the simple features of private regard and gratitude, that there seems to be little room to doubt that such sentiments actually existed between them. Of this all other evidence is lost, save the assertion of Sir William Davenant that Southampton gave to Shakespeare at one time the sum of a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a favourite purchase. We are informed also in the preface to the first edition of Minshew's "*Guide to Tongues*" that he had liberally relieved the necessities of that learned man. Of the eulogies lavished on him a mere catalogue would be too prolix. I will content myself therefore with inserting two only: the one, because it flowed from the pen of the serious and veracious Camden, who, in his *Britannia*, referring briefly to those who had borne the title of Earl of Southampton, thus concludes his treatise on that

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

county — “Edwardus VI. eundem honorem, anno sui regno primo, Thomæ Wriothesley, Angliæ Cancellario detulit; ejus e filio Henrico nepos Henricus eodem hodie lætatur; . qui in primo ætatis flore præsidio bonarum literarum, et rei militaris scientia, nobilitatem communit, ut uberiores fructus maturiore ætate patriæ et principi profundat.” The other, because it has been hitherto to be found only in a book of such extreme rarity that it may be confidently presumed that it now for the first time offers itself to the notice of modern readers, The nature, and method of the little work in question, a copy of which, thought to be unique, is in my hands, will be sufficiently explained by the title—“The Mirrour of Majestie, or the Badges of Honour conceitedly emblazoned; with Emblems annexed, poetically unfolded; by H. G. 1618.” In this collection, under the arms of the Earl of Southampton, which consist of a cross between four sea-gulls, are these lines—

No storme of troubles, or cold frost of friends,
Which on free greatnes too too oft attends,
Can by presumption threaten your free state,
For these presaging sea-birds do amate
Presumptuous greatnes, moving the best mindes
By their approach to feare the future windes
Of all calamitie, no lesse than they
Portend to seamen a tempestuous day.
Which you foreseeing may beforehand crosse,
As they do them, and so prevent the losse.

On the opposite page, to a biform figure of Mars and Mercury, encircled with the motto “In utraque perfectus,” is subjoined the following compliment—

What coward stoicke or blunt captaine will
Dislike this union, or not labour still
To reconcile the arts and victory?
Since in themselves arts have this quality,
To vanquish errour's traine; what other then
Should love the arts, if not a valiant man?
Or how can he resolve to execute
That hath not first learn'd to be resolute?
If any shall oppose this, or dispute,
Your great example shall their spite confute.

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire, who long survived him. He had by her two sons, James, who has been already mentioned; and Thomas, his successor, that eminently loyal servant to Charles the first, and virtuous Lord Treasurer to Charles the second, in whom the title became extinct. He left also three daughters; Penelope, wife of William Lord Spencer of Wormleighton; Anne, married to Robert Wollop, of Farley, in Hants; and Elizabeth, to Sir Thomas Estcourt, a Master in Chancery.



Engraved by H. T. Ryall

JAMES, MARQUIS OF HAMILTON

OB 1624

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

THE slender notices that are to be found variously scattered relative to this nobleman's story will furnish but an outline which it is now too late to expect should ever be filled up. The writers of his own country could have little to record of one who had in a manner quitted it for ever in early youth, and the jealousy of those of the land to which he emigrated probably induced them to leave the events of his manhood in almost total obscurity. This has been the common fate of almost all the Scots who accompanied or followed James on his accession to the English Throne. If our historians could not reasonably find the means of treating them with scorn and vituperation, they passed them over in silence. Thus however we are enabled to draw at least a negative inference that our present subject was a man of fair character and conduct.

He was born in the year 1589, the only son of John, first Marquis of Hamilton, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Glamis, Chancellor of Scotland. The ever active loyalty of his father, and grandfather, the Regent Duke of Chatelherault, who had constantly employed the power with which their near propinquity in blood to the Scottish Crown invested them only to maintain it on the heads of Mary and her son, had greatly impaired their princely revenues, and James, when too young to estimate duly their services, had been made an instrument by his first, and most worthless favourite, James Stewart, in the further depression of this illustrious House. The young Hamilton was sent abroad in his childhood, and returned not till shortly before his father's death, which occurred in 1604, when the King gave, or rather restored to him, for they had been some years before wrested from the

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

family, the estates of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, in the shire of Forfar, and pressingly invited him to court, where, soon after his arrival, he was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber.

He is said to have been one of the handsomest and most polite men of his time, and his letters, of which some specimen will presently be given, clearly indicate a lively and jocose temper. James, whom such qualities always delighted, even to fascination, and who was probably anxious also to atone for the share which he had been induced to take in the persecution of the Hamiltons, soon manifested an extravagant partiality towards him. "It is certain," says Collins, in his Peerage, but without quoting his authority, "that no person could have disputed with him the King's affection and confidence, the Duke of Buckingham excepted;" and he seems to have lived too on the best terms with the favourite himself. It was not long before he was sworn of the Privy Counsel, and raised to the office of Lord Steward of the Household: on the sixteenth of June, 1619, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron of Ennerdale in Cumberland, and Earl of Cambridge, a dignity which had never before been granted but to persons of the Blood royal.

Nor were his services confined to the decoration of a Court. In 1621, a period at which the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland required profound judgement and address, James appointed him High Commissioner to the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the fourth of August, N. S. in that year. It was in this Parliament that those new regulations in the discipline of the Scottish Church, well known by the name of the five articles of Perth, from their having been concluded on in a general assembly held three years before in that town, were now finally ratified. The observance of them had hitherto been rejected by a multitude of ministers, with all the pertinacity which so peculiarly distinguishes calvinistic dissent, while the King, with every good reason on his side, was not less obstinately determined to enforce it. The passing of the Act, which was voted but by a

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

small majority, was mainly ascribed to the discreet conduct of the Marquis, and the submission to it which followed, to the well placed moderation and severity which he subsequently exercised. He returned to the enjoyment of increased favour, and on the seventh of July, 1623, was installed a Knight of the Garter.

Here, most unexpectedly, closed his brief and brilliant career. On the third of March, 1624, O. S. in the very prime of his life and his prosperity, he died at Whitehall, after a very short illness. When the news was communicated to James, who was then in ill health, he is said to have exclaimed, alluding also to the recent and yet more sudden death of another of his kinsmen, the Duke of Richmond, "If the branches are thus cut down the root will shortly follow;" and it was prophetically said, for on the twenty-seventh of the same month he himself expired. Arthur Wilson, whose reports however it is too often prudent to receive with some caution, gives the following remarkable circumstances of the Marquis's departure. "The Marquis Hamilton," says he, "died before our King, suspected to be poisoned, the symptoms being very presumptuous; his head and body swelling to an excessive greatness; the body being all over full of great blisters, with variety of colours. The hair of his head and beard came off without being touched, and brought the skin with them; and there was a great clamour of it in the Court, so that doctors were sent for to view the body; but the matter was huddled up, and little spoken of it: only Doctor Eglisam, a Scotsman, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been the author of it. The Marquis's son had a little before married the Earl of Denbigh's daughter, who was the Duke of Buckingham's niece, and yet this tie could not oblige a friendship between them, because the Marquis was averse to the marriage. This distance, and other discontents, occasioned some tumerous discourses, which reflected much upon the Duke, but they never broke out in this King's time, being bound up close, as it was thought, more by the Duke's power than his innocency."

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

Now it is scarcely possible that Wilson's statement as to any enmity existing between these noblemen can be correct, more especially arising from the cause to which he ascribes it. The two young persons whom he mentions were married in 1620, and there are in the Harleian collection three original letters, on trifling subjects, from Hamilton to Buckingham, a short extract from one of which will be presently inserted, written in terms not only of the highest friendship but of gaiety and cordiality, the sincerity of which cannot be suspected, during Buckingham's absence in Spain with Prince Charles in 1623. I give the following, from the Marquis to the Prince himself at that time, not only for some intrinsic curiosity which it possesses, but for the sake of the short passage in which Buckingham is mentioned under the title of "the Admiral."—

May it plaes your Hynes,

Your goodnes is the caus that in all my lyf I never studied befor hand what to say to you, my hairt telling me I micht tell you without danger what it thocht, and now, lat it luk as God and you plaes, have with you in the old fachoun. Your Hynes' lettir gave me such comfort, for the wich God thank you, as helth eftar siknes, or welth eftar want, or a grant, eftar many denyalls, to a passionat lover. Such distress was I in, being jelous of your favour, that I longed to kno the caus why I was used with so much distrust, having my interes in your good sum degries moir thaen most subjects, and, tho bot for that, wold never have betrayed you to robbers by the way. This my curiositi, and almost mutinie, I am suir cumith from a passionat love, and so in justice may claim a pardoun by cours; bot for your jornay itself, which is now the filosoficall questioun of this Ile, I must say that many thinkis heir the good sukces dependis yeit a litill on chance. I am nothing of that mynd, for I kno your Hynes' own curage and wisdoun, and the faithfull service of the Admirall, can maik those thair se thair advantage in your love. For my pairt, if any heir mistrust,

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

as my Lady Wrothi's bouk says, that you will not do gallantly,
I shall gainsay it, if want of curage hindir me not, for I dar be
bound, not only, in the French fachoun, body and goodis, bot
body, and goodis, and honor to, upon your word; and, in the maen
tym, prays God to preserve your Hynes, as

your Hynes' faithfull

Whythall

and humbles servan,

xii Apryll.

J. HAMILTON.

The journey to Madrid was a creature of Buckingham's ambition; agreeable doubtless for it's novelty to Charles, who was however probably indifferent as to the result in contemplation. It may be reasonably inferred from a passage towards the conclusion of this epistle that Charles had shewn little warmth in his suit to the Infanta, and the conjecture seems to be nearly confirmed by the following extract of a letter from the Marquis to Buckingham of the second of the same month—"I besich you taik the painis to tell the Prince, for I have not boldnes anuf to wryt it myself, that I pray very hartely for him now I deir sueir he is a perfyt brave man. He wanted of old that one poynt to be of the fraternitie of fierce lovers, in wich ardour God send him good luk. It is much talked heir whether it war good you cam home before the Prince or no: for my pairt, I know not what counsell to give, bot leaves it to what your ouin hairt and God Almighty will advys you."

This nobleman married Anne, fourth daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn, who brought him three sons, and as many daughters. James, created Duke of Hamilton, and William, who succeeded his brother in that honour, both of whom will be found treated of at large in the course of this work; and John, who died young. The daughters were Anne, who married Hugh Montgomery, seventh Earl of Eglington; Margaret, wife of John, first Earl of Crawford and Lindsay; and Mary, married to James Douglas, second Earl of Queensberry.



Engraved by H. Robinson

CHARLES HOWARD FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

OB 1621

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{OR} THE EARL OF VILULAM

CHARLES HOWARD,

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

OF his illustrious house, distinguished through the whole of an uncommonly long life by the unlimited favour and confidence of two sovereigns, and yet more by the most spotless honour and integrity, was the eldest son and heir of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham, (a younger son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk), by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coyty, in Glamorganshire. He was born in the year 1536. His father, who, among other great employments, had held those of Lord High Admiral under Mary, and Lord High Chamberlain to Elizabeth, initiated him when very young in naval service, and then brought him to the court. He possessed every qualification likely to gain the partiality of the virgin Queen; an eminently fine person and countenance, a sweet and frank temper; and a deportment at once elegant and dignified, and, in addition to these powerful recommendations, he was a Howard. They had their full effect; but Elizabeth, whose affections, violent, even to folly, as they might often seem, seldom interfered with her policy because both were grounded in self-love, for a long time distinguished him only by a gracious familiarity: he was yet too young to be trusted, and remained without public employment for ten years after her accession, save a ceremonious embassy in 1559 to congratulate Charles the ninth on his succeeding to the throne of France. At length in 1569 he was sent into the north, with the appointment of General of the Horse in the force then led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and behaved with much bravery, and in the following year commanded a squadron

CHARLES HOWARD,

in the Mediterranean. He was soon after elected knight of the shire for Surrey, and in 1573 succeeded to the peerage, and to his family estates, on the death of his father, who was at that time Lord Privy Seal, which office Elizabeth immediately bestowed on him, and before the close of that year appointed him Lord Steward of the Household, and gave him the order of the Garter. Several writers who affect to look deeply into the political motives of that time insist that he was thus suddenly exalted to counterpoise the enormous power of Leicester ; but it is needless to seek further for the ground of his favour than to the Queen's personal regard, and entire conviction of his honesty and fidelity.

On the death of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1585, he was raised to the post which he most desired, and for which the whole character of his nature seems to have best qualified him, and became Lord High Admiral. The great design of the Spanish invasion was already suspected, and was soon after clearly ascertained, and it was in contemplation of the arduous conflict which seemed approaching that Elizabeth reposed in him this weighty trust. "She had," says Camden, "a very great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and she knew him, by the sweetness of his behaviour, and bravery of his conduct, to be skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem amongst the seamen of her navy." He applied himself to the vast preparations which had become necessary with a vigour and minuteness of attention which the whole kingdom applauded, and put to sea early in the spring of 1588. The Armada sailed about the same time, and, as is well known, was scattered by a tempest which Elizabeth's ministers believed had rendered the expedition hopeless : Walsingham therefore, to spare expence, dispatched an express to recal four of the largest ships, which the Lord Admiral ventured to refuse, requesting that he might be allowed to retain them at his own private charge. He then sailed to the coast of Spain, and having satisfied himself of the actual state of the

enemy's fleet, returned to Plymouth, where he remained till the nineteenth of July, when, on the approach once more of the Armada, he again put to sea in haste, animating his officers by the cheerfulness of his courage, and his men by partaking with them in the bodily labour which the urgency of the moment demanded. The celebrated victory which followed may be honestly ascribed in a great measure to his zeal, his bravery, and his good judgment.

Elizabeth, always sparing of grateful acknowledgments, rewarded this service by the grant of a pension, which, as the amount has not been recorded, we may conclude was not extravagant, and the Admiral now remained for a long interval unemployed. The expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, a favourite theme of English history, again called him into action, and was committed jointly to himself and the Earl of Essex. It was eminently successful; but Essex, admirable in all but coolness and prudence, blamed Howard for that caution in the conduct of it which his own rashness had rendered necessary. The Admiral, on the other hand, in a spirit of candour and benignity which always distinguished him, bestowed praises on Essex which perhaps were scarcely merited. He begins a letter to Lord Hunsdon, giving a full account of the proceedings of the army and the fleet, by saying, "I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is; and I protest, in my simple poor judgment, a grave soldier, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed." Essex's censure was disregarded by Elizabeth, and not resented by the Admiral, on whom, in the autumn of the following year, the Queen conferred the dignity of Earl of Nottingham. Essex, who was at that time absent on what has usually been called "the island voyage," returned in a flame, because the new Earl, uniting to that title the high offices which he held, had acquired the precedency; and Elizabeth, to restore it to her angry favourite, conferred on him the office of Earl Marshal: Nottingham, in his turn, now became

disgusted ; retired from the court, and resigned his white staff, which, however, he was soon prevailed on to resume ; while the Queen at once separated the rivals, and bestowed a further gratification on Essex, by placing him in the arduous post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

These circumstances occurred in the years 1598 and 1599, a period if not of danger at least of considerable apprehension Elizabeth, ever anxious to prove the affection of her subjects, assisted in exciting their fears for the safety of her person, and witnessed them with complacency. In the furtherance of this object she called on the city of London to reinforce her navy with sixteen ships, and her army with six thousand men, an order which is said to have been completely executed in the space of a fortnight ; and, to give an air of greater solemnity to her preparations, invested Nottingham with the supreme command of all her forces by land and sea, and with the rare and superb title of Lord Lieutenant General of all England. The return of Essex from Ireland, and his mad insurrection in London just about this time, gave the colour of an almost prophetic policy to her caution. Nottingham commanded in person the troops which surrounded Essex-house, and it was to him that the unhappy Earl surrendered, and was received with that urbanity and kind consideration which noble hearts ever bestow on fallen enemies. The gallant and sensitive Essex, charmed with his generosity, seems for the short remnant of his days to have taken his adversary even into his confidence : Nottingham frequently visited him in the Tower ; consoled him with the affectionate zeal of a friend , and received from him in return a contrite acknowledgment of the injustice of his former enmity. He sat in judgment with the Peers, and evinced an earnest anxiety for truth and justice on the trial of Essex, and ministered gratefully to his departed spirit by procuring from the Queen first a reprieve, and then the pardon, of his beloved friend, and fellow offender, the Earl of Southampton. Elizabeth's health soon after declined. In the singular aberra-

tions of temper which preceded her dissolution Nottingham alone is said to have possessed any influence over her conduct. She submitted at his persuasion to take nourishment and medicine, and to relinquish a strange resolution which she had made to sit continually in her clothes on the floor of her apartment. It was to him, in her last moments, that she uttered the expressions so often quoted concerning the succession to her throne.

James, to whom the family of Howard was even more dear than it had been to Elizabeth, retained him in the great offices of High Admiral and Lord Steward, placed him in the renewed commission for exercising the office of Earl Marshal, in which he had sat in the late reign; and appointed him Great Steward of England for the solemnity of the coronation. That Prince had mounted the throne with a determination to make peace with Spain, and the Lord Admiral was selected to act the part of ambassador extraordinary for that unpopular service. He had little experience in state affairs, but his age, his rank, his fine person and manners, and his magnificent profusion, peculiarly qualified him for a mission of ceremony to the most ceremonious court in Europe, for he had little to do beyond the ratification of the treaty. It has been said, that he solicited on this occasion for a Dukedom, but could not prevail, the dignity of his posts being esteemed sufficient to satisfy the Spanish pride. The equipment of his Embassy was unusually splendid: he was attended by five hundred persons, exclusive of six young noblemen, and fifty knights; had an allowance of fifteen thousand pounds for his expenses; and received presents on quitting the court of Madrid to the value of twenty thousand, together with a pension of twelve thousand crowns, yet his charges in this excursion, which did not occupy quite three months of the spring of 1604, so far exceeded those various supplies as to require a large additional sum from his own purse. His estate was moderate, his expenditure had been always enormous; and this last sacrifice to the honour of his country had painfully embarrassed

his affairs. To add to his vexation, James received him coldly at his return, and at length expressly blamed him for having used that state and magnificence in his embassy which had increased his private difficulties; but this umbrage soon blew over.

He was now grown old, and desirous of ease, and his own native good humour, together with the solicitations of a young wife (for he had lately taken a second, when in his sixty-eighth year) easily converted him into a mere courtier. We find him no more in any public service, unless the convoying the Princess Elizabeth and her bridegroom, the Elector Palatine, to Flushing in 1612, may be esteemed such. At length, in 1619, he was prevailed on to resign his office of High Admiral to the aspiring Buckingham. This concession seems to have been extorted partly from his necessities, and partly from his pride. It was purchased from him by an annuity of one thousand pounds; the remission of a debt due from him to the crown of eighteen hundred; and by a patent of precedency, giving him place according to the date of a grant of the Earldom of Nottingham by Richard the second to his ancestors the Mowbrays; and Buckingham presented the Countess with three thousand pounds. That favourite acknowledged his obligation too by peculiar marks of respect and flattery; he ever after called the Earl "father," and bent the knee on coming into his presence; but the whole affair was esteemed, even at that time, when such bargains were not unusual, very disgraceful to all parties, and most of all to the King, who ought to have prevented it.

This excellent old man survived till 1624, on the fourteenth of December in which year he died, at the age of eighty-seven, at his house of Haling, near Croydon, in Surrey, and was buried in the vault of his branch of the Howards at Reigate, in that county. He was twice married; first to Catherine, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, by whom he had two sons; William, who died before him, leaving an only daughter, the wife of John

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough ; and Charles, who succeeded to the honours and estates ; and three daughters ; Elizabeth, wife first of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, in Norfolk, secondly of John Stuart, Earl of Carrick, in Scotland ; Frances, married first to Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, afterwards to Henry Brook, Lord Cobham ; and Margaret, to Sir Richard Levison, of Trentham, in Staffordshire, Vice Admiral of England. His second Countess was Margaret, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, in Scotland. It is of this lady that we have the well known romantic story of the Earl of Essex and the ring, a tale which might have enlivened the dulness of this memoir, and which should have been here inserted had it not been long since falsified by circumstantial proof of which no doubt can be entertained. By her, who survived him, and re-married to William Monson, Viscount Castlemain, in Ireland, he had two sons ; James, who died young, and Charles, who succeeded to the dignities on the death of his half-brother, Charles, without issue, and in whom, himself dying also childless in 1681, the Earldom of Nottingham became extinct.



Engraved by W. F. Motte

LODOWICK STUART DUKE OF RICHMOND

OB 1621

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE LARD OF EGRIMONT

LODOWICK STUART,

DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX

THIS nobleman, whose character seems to have been as estimable as his birth was illustrious, was first cousin, once removed, to King James the first; for his grandfather John, Lord Aubigny, was second brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, the father of Henry, Lord Darnley, who had reigned in Scotland, in right of his Queen, the celebrated Mary. He was the eldest of the two sons of Esme Stuart, first Duke of Lenox in that country, by Catherine, youngest daughter of William de Balzac, Lord of Entragues and Marcoussis, in Auvergne, descended from one of the most ancient and noble families in that part of France, and was born on the twenty-ninth of September, 1574. He succeeded to his father's dignities, among which may perhaps not improperly be reckoned the offices of hereditary Great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of Scotland, in the year 1583; and we are told, by at least one credible writer, that James, on undertaking his nuptial visit to Denmark in 1589, appointed him Viceroy of Scotland during its continuance, and declared him heir to the Crown—an inheritance to which, admitting all the latitude which the law of Scotland allows to collaterals, he had at that time scarcely a distant presumptive claim.

He had passed much of the early part of his life in France, and in such estimation, that the King entrusted to him the command of his celebrated regiment of Scots Guards; for his father, who had lived there at least as much as in Scotland, had been most confidentially and very actively engaged in superintending the relative affairs of the two Crowns, and was at length in a manner exiled thither through the intrigues of Elizabeth with the enemies

of Mary. Thus in some measure qualified for the office, James sent the young Duke ambassador to Henry the fourth in July, 1601. He remained however but five months at Paris; and returning through London passed a short time in the court of Elizabeth, who entertained him with great magnificence, and apparent cordiality. He was the first, not only in dignified rank, but also in royal favour, of the crowd of his countrymen who accompanied James to England when he mounted the throne, and was presently distinguished accordingly; for on the second of July, 1603, he was invested, together with Prince Henry, with the Order of the Garter. The Duke of Sully, who now came on the part of the French King to congratulate James on his accession, informs us that the Scottish faction, as he calls it, at the Court of London, was at that time divided into two branches, the one headed by Lenox, the other by the Earl of Mar, and that a reciprocal and inveterate hatred subsisted between them, not, as he observes, regarding political affairs, for none of them were “acquainted with the business of the Cabinet, and they were equally inclined to France, but merely from competition for the advantage in the King’s favour.” This, so far at least as it relates to the Duke, is undoubtedly correct. It is the only intimation that we have of his being ever engaged in any party. He gained the King’s favour, enjoyed it uninterruptedly during the whole of his life, and was contented

His embassy was renewed in the winter of 1604. John Chamberlaine, the lively correspondent of Secretary Winwood, writes to that minister on the eighteenth of December—“the Duke of Lenox is presently going in embassy for France, and though it be thought that his own business is his greatest employment, yet for this (his) countenance this place is imposed on him, and three thousand pounds to bear his charge.” He was ill received at Paris, for when he arrived there he found the Court in the greatest ferment on the discovery of some treasonable practices of Francis de Balzac, Count d’Entragues, his mother’s brother, and

DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX.

one of the most intriguing men in France. The same John Chamberlaine tells Winwood, in a letter of the twenty-sixth of the succeeding February—"the Duke of Lenox is not yet returned, but some of his forerunners are come, who report that he found but coarse entertainment, whether it were by reason of his uncle Entragues' disgrace, or upon complaint of the French ambassador here that he is no more respected, and therefore hath sent for his leave to be gone." He arrived in London a few days after.

In 1607 he was appointed High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, for some years after which date he seems to have moved only in the ordinary line of a courtier of his exalted rank. In June, 1613, he was again dispatched to Paris, in the character of ambassador extraordinary, to sift the inclination of that Court on the question of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal of France, and on the sixth of October, in the same year, he was advanced to the English Peerage by the titles of Baron Settrington, of Settrington, in Yorkshire, and Earl of Richmond. It should seem that James had not conferred these honours on him with the readiness that his constant expressions of affection towards the Duke might have given him room to expect, for on the sixth of the preceding May we have again that agreeable court-gossip, Chamberlaine, writing to Winwood—"the Duke of Lenox had a pretence to be made Duke or Earl of Richmond, and so by consequence an English Peer of Parliament, and to that purpose had procured divers noblemen's hands to present to the King on that behalf, but, finding more difficulty in the presenting it than he expected, hath given it over for the time."

In October, 1615, he was deputed, together with the Lords Chancellor and Chief Justice, to examine personally the miserable Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, and on the first of the following month was appointed Lord Steward of the Household. In several succeeding years we have no intelligence of him further than that he was engaged in some of those commercial speculations which the great men of that time encouraged with a show of splendid

patrician patronage, and a secret view of profit. An original instrument, undertaking the establishment of a colony on the banks of the River of Amazons, signed by himself, the Earls of Arundel, Dorset, Warwick, Clanricarde, and many others, with the several sums respectively contributed by them placed against their names, remains in the Harleian Collection, and it appears that he subscribed three hundred pounds towards the prosecution of this scheme.

He now abandoned all concern in public affairs, for which he seems never to have been much inclined, nor perhaps eminently qualified. It was probably therefore, (not to mention the sweetness of temper, and correctness of manners, which are said to have distinguished him) that he lived in harmony with all men, and all parties. With the haughty and jealous favourite, Buckingham, whom we shall see he was used to call his son, he appears to have been on terms of strict intimacy, even of affection. The following short letter, evidently written in 1622, while Buckingham was attending the Prince of Wales in his romantic visit to Madrid, however insignificant in itself, will tend to prove those facts. Some other originals, always in the same strain and with the same tender address, may be found in the Harleian collection, from which this is extracted.

“ My noble Lord, and best childe,

“ I was verri glade to rec’ve your letter, and wth all of your kinde beleiff and aacceptance of my love and respects to you ; and, as for that last cause of my expressions of my obligations and loving respects, I will keep in store till I have the hapeines to see and imbrace you, having only told it to our olde maistre, whome God long presarve. By your last despache you have filled all our hartes (I meane all honest harts) full of joye, for that we heire of his Heighnes’ good and perfit healthe, and the good despache of his wourther desires, wth the appearance of his quike retourne, wth his full contentment For my part, I still wische your

DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX.

stay and attendance upon his Heighnes, at leist till the mariage be perfitted, and that he be reddei to come awaye. I hoop longer you shall resave this you have resaved ane lettre of myne concerning this poupos; so I will forbear to trouble you further but still assuring you that I am for ever

Your Lo'. most assured loving father and servant,

LENOX.' -

To my verie good Lord
the Lord Marques of Buckinghame

At length, on the seventeenth of May, 1623, he was created Earl of Newcastle on Tyne, and Duke of Richmond—an elevation which he survived but nine months. Wilson, in his Life of James the first, gives an account of the Duke's death and the circumstances attending it in terms which could scarcely be amended. It happened on the twelfth of February, in the following year, the day appointed for the meeting of a new Parliament

“The morning the Parliament was to begin, the King missed the Duke of Richmond's attendance, who being a constant observer of him at all times, the King, as it were, wanted one of his limbs to support the grandeur of Majesty at the first solemn meeting of a Parliament; and calling for him with earnestness, a messenger was dispatched to his lodgings in haste, where the King's commands, and the messenger's importunity, made the Duchess, his wife, somewhat unwillingly, go to the Duke's bed-side to awake him, who, drawing the curtain, found him dead in his bed. The suddenness of the affright struck her with so much consternation that she was scarce sensible of the horror of it, and it was carried with that violence to the King, that he would not adorn himself to ride in his glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the nineteenth of February following, dedicating some part of that time to the memory of his dead servant, who might serve as a fore-runner to the King, and an emblem to all his people, that in the dark caverns of man's body death often lurks, which no human prudence or providence is able to discover”

LODOWICK STUART.

This nobleman had been thrice married, but left no issue. His first lady was Sophia, third daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie in Scotland; his second, Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Matthew Campbell, and relict of Robert Montgomery, Master of Eglingtoun in the same country. He married, thirdly, that remarkable woman, of whom some account is elsewhere given in this work, Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, and widow successively of Henry Pranwel, of London, and of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. The Duke, and his last Duchess, he buried in Westminster Abbey, in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, under a magnificent monument, which was erected by her order.



FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST ALBAN

OB 1626

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{OR} THE EARL OF VERTUE

FRANCIS BACON,

VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

IT has been determined that the insertion of a portrait of this wonderful man in such a collection as the present is indispensable, and the resolution may possibly be proper. Should it, on the other hand, be thought impertinent to add one more to the many engravings which have already rendered his features so well known to us, some apology for the supererogation may perhaps be reasonably founded on the excellent skill of two artists displayed in this new effort. Not so with the biographer. He finds that the character of Bacon has been long since placed in every possible point of view, and every lineament traced with the most critical exactness: and he will rejoice, if he is prudent, to be spared the perilous task of adding a single touch. Conscious that he cannot safely venture to enlarge the scale of this grand picture, how much more forcibly must he feel the impossibility of reducing it to a miniature; of discussing, to drop the figure, within the limits of a few pages the mysteries of a sublime philosophy, of a profound state policy, and of a character which presents the most awful example extant at once of human wisdom and weakness. Thus impressed, and with scarcely any view but to preserve uniformity of appearance in this work, I proceed to a detail, unavoidably cold and meagre, of circumstances merely historical.

Francis Bacon was the younger of the two sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, by Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, of Gidea Hall, in Essex, and sister to the wife of the Lord Treasurer Burghley. He was born at York House, in the Strand, on the twenty-second of January, 1561, and educated under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Primate, in Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was

entered at the age of twelve years. It should seem that it was not the intention of his parents to devote him to the profession of the law, for soon after he had left the University, he went to Paris with Sir Amias Powlett, and lived in the house of that minister during his embassy, on the affairs of which he was at least once dispatched to communicate personally with the Queen ; but his father having been prevented, as is said, by a sudden death, in 1579, from making the provision intended for him, he returned and enrolled himself a member of the society of Gray's Inn. Here he studied the common law with the closest application, and relaxed his giant mind by laying the foundation of his philosophy. He remained long at the bar, undistinguished but by his talents and his eloquence, and by the extensive practice to which they had conducted him ; nor was it till 1588 that he obtained even the degree of Counsel to the Queen, for he had cultivated a strict intimacy with Essex, the uniform rival, and indeed enemy, of his powerful relations the Cecils, who therefore in a great measure denied him their patronage. It is true that they gave him the reversion of an office of considerable emolument, the Registership of the Star-chamber, and this was perhaps the only instance of their favour ever experienced by him.

He waited, however, patiently till the year 1596, when the office of Solicitor General becoming vacant, Essex and his friends exerted themselves to the utmost to place him in it. They were unsuccessful, and here we meet with a wonderful proof of the romantic generosity and grandeur of that nobleman's heart. Sympathizing with his disappointed friend, and stung with anger at the slight which had been put on his own suit, he instantly determined to alienate a part of his estate to Bacon, from whose pen we have a recital of the conversation which occurred when the Earl visited him to declare his intention. "After the Queen," says he, "had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor in my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twickenham Park, and brake with me,

and said, " Mr. Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another. I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance, yet you have spent your time and your thoughts in my matters : I die (these were his words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune · you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you.' " Twickenham Park, here mentioned, was the gift bestowed on him, including one of Essex's highly ornamented mansions, particularly celebrated for its pleasure grounds, which had obtained the name of the " garden of paradise." Yet Bacon, painful to relate, when that unhappy nobleman was some years after arraigned, not only pleaded against him at the bar, but at length published a declaration of his treasons, with the view of justifying his execution. The nation shuddered at this ingratitude to its favourite. Bacon was universally execrated, and even threatened with assassination. He addressed an apology, which may be found in his works, to the Earl of Devonshire, one of Essex's bosom friends, from which the passage just now given is extracted ; but the stain which he had cast on himself was then too glaring, and he missed even the sordid reward at which he had aimed, for Elizabeth's ministers, to whom he had thus sold himself, durst not admit him publicly into their councils.

By James, who loved learning better than morals, and sought for servants at once wise and pliant, he became presently in some measure distinguished. He was among the first to prefer his claims to that Prince's favour, and had assiduously courted the great men of both nations, and of all parties, as well religious as political, to forward them. He had been long a member of the House of Commons, in which his exact knowledge of the temper of that body gave him perhaps more weight even than his admirable powers of mind, or his eloquence, and he rendered himself now essentially useful in forwarding there the King's favourite objects ; for while he was, in fact, the confidential agent for the

FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN,

Crown he had the address to persuade the House of his entire independence, and to strengthen that impression, frequently espoused measures which he privately meditated to overthrow. This practice, then a novelty in parliamentary tactics, remained long unsuspected : His rewards, which doubtless were considerable, were kept as secret as his services, and it was not till the year 1607 that he was at length appointed Solicitor General ; nor did that mark of royal favour tend to impair the confidence in which he was held by the Commons, for in the following session they made choice of him to represent to the King the grievances of the nation, and received with complacency a haughty answer because he had prefaced the delivery of it by a fascinating harangue. He remained without farther preferment till 1613, when on the twenty-seventh of October he obtained the post of Attorney General.

It was very soon after that period that the memorable George Villiers first appeared at Court, and became instantly a favourite. Bacon was the foremost of the flatterers of his youth and inexperience, and Villiers, justly proud of the friendship of the wisest of his countrymen, and with sufficient prudence to discern the importance of such a counsellor to his own welfare, became earnestly attached to him, and resolved to devote himself to his gratification. On the ninth of July 1616, the King received Bacon into the Privy Council, a distinction which it was not usual to bestow on Attorneys General ; on the third of March 1617, O. S. delivered the Great Seal to him, as Lord Keeper ; and on the fourth of January, in the succeeding year, exalted him to the degree of Lord High Chancellor. In making these several important steps he was assiduously aided by the influence which Villiers exercised over James, while his consummate policy in the pursuit of his own interests is almost without a parallel. A letter which may be found in his works, soliciting the King to promote him to the office of Lord Keeper, furnishes a curious instance of the craft with which he advanced his own cause, and undermined the pretensions

of others, solely by appealing to the ruling foible in his master's regal character: and this in a method so delicately covert and indirect that all his hints on the subject of prerogative seem to arise collaterally and incidentally. The following passage may be a sufficient example—"I hope I may be acquitted of presumption if I think of it, both because my father had the place, which is some civil inducement to my desire, and, chiefly, because the Chancellor's place, after it went to the law, was ever conferred upon some of the learned counsel, and never upon a judge: for Audley was raised from a King's Serjeant; my father from Attorney of the Wards; Bromley from Solicitor; Puckering from Queen's Serjeant; Egerton from Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's place. Now, I beseech your Majesty let me put you the present case truly. If you take my Lord Coke, this will follow: first, your Majesty shall put an over-ruling man into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; next, you shall blunt his industry in matter of finances, which seemeth to aim at another place; and, lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your Majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hobart, you shall have a judge at the upper end of your Council board, and another at the lower end, whereby your Majesty will find your prerogative pent; for, though there should be emulation between them, yet, as legists, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best: He is no statesman, but an œconomist wholly for himself, so as your Majesty, more than an outward form, will find little help in him for the business. If you take my Lord of Canterbury, I will say no more but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man, and to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height is fit only for a King. For myself, I can only present your Majesty with gloria in obsequio," &c.

On the eleventh of July, 1618, Bacon was created Baron of Verulam, in the County of Herts, and on the twenty-seventh of January, 1620, Viscount St. Alban. The great machine of the State had now fallen chiefly under his direction. James, who

FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

with all his vanity had too much good sense to slight the dictates of another's wisdom, submitted most matters to his judgment and decision ; and a mixture of friendship, veneration, and deference to age and long experience, had brought the warmth and the caprice of Buckingham, by whom so much was governed, in great measure under his controul. His sudden elevation in place, and dignity, and confidence, produced, however, more than usual envy, and aggravated the feelings of his enemies, who were many. The old party of the disgraced Earl of Somerset, which was by no means insignificant, detested him : Sir Edward Coke, with whom he had maintained for many years a constant rivalry and warfare, was his bitter foe, and ruled the opinions of a multitude. Bacon's attachment to Buckingham, which was invariable, had involved him in the unpopularity and jealousy with which that favourite was now surrounded ; and the impartiality, whether proceeding from principle or policy, which distinguished his judicial decrees, had excited the resentment of numerous individuals in the Court and State whose private interests had been affected by them. Hopeless wishes for his downfall had been secretly formed by thousands, for probity, as well as wisdom, seemed to secure him from all attack, when the House of Commons, in the Parliament which met on the thirtieth of January, 1620, only three days after his reception of his new dignity of Viscount, appointed a committee to inquire into the conduct of the courts of justice which, on the fifteenth of March, 1620, O. S. reported against him two charges of the grossest corruption. It was fully proved that he had accepted large bribes from two suitors in the chancery, and the turpitude of the offence seemed to acquire a deeper dye from the exceeding necessity of the parties, one of whom had been forced to mortgage an estate to furnish the requisite sum, and the other to borrow miserably of a usurer.

On the motion of Sir Edward Coke these charges were sent up to the Peers, to whom Bacon, who was, or feigned to be, very ill, sent an expostulatory letter. They answered him with respect

and tenderness, and even manifested an inclination to believe him innocent; but on the very next day new complaints were made to them by the House of Commons, in which more than twenty instances were cited of his having taken bribes, amounting together to many thousand pounds, and the Lords appointed a select committee to take the whole into the most serious consideration. Bacon now threw himself on the favour of the King, and the influence of Buckingham. James, who is said to have lamented his wretched degradation, even with tears, admitted him to a long audience, and procured an adjournment of Parliament for some days, in the hope of devising means to soften his fall, but the only effect of the pause was to produce fresh accusations. Nothing remained but to submit himself to the mercy of the Peers, and, on the twenty-fourth of April, he made a general acknowledgment of his guilt, by a letter to the House, composed with admirable force and beauty of expression, which was presented by the Prince of Wales. The Lords, however, very properly insisted on his answering to each particular charge, which he did, on the thirtieth of the same month, confessing nearly all that had been alledged against him. He was deprived the next day of the Great Seal: and, on the third of May, having in the meantime received a summons to attend the House, which he declined on the score of illness, the Peers, in the simple form of an answer to the House of Commons, then standing at their bar to demand judgment against him, sentenced him to a fine of forty thousand pounds; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; and to be for ever incapable of holding any public office, or of sitting in Parliament.

His confinement was short. James, still anxious to receive his counsels, renewed a personal intercourse with him, and, on the twelfth of the following October, signed a warrant remitting the whole of his sentence, except the parliamentary prohibition, from which also he was at length relieved towards the close of his life. He retired, loaded with debt, and unable to practise frugality:

FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

such indeed were his necessities, that he condescended to sue for the office of Provost of Eton College, and suffered the mortification of a refusal. It is needless to say that his few remaining years were passed in study, but the greater part, and the most important, of his mighty works were composed during the period in which he directed the affairs of the State, and superintended the individual private interests of thousands; a fact almost miraculous. Of those works, as has been already premised, it is impossible here to speak to any purpose: suffice it therefore to say, referring only to their extent, that they consist, according to his own division of them, of two hundred and forty-one distinct treatises, philosophical, historical, religious, and political.

Bacon died on the-ninth of April, 1626, and was buried in the chapel of St. Michael's Church in the town of St. Albans. He had been married in his middle age, to Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, an Alderman of London, by whom he left no issue.



Engraved by H. Robinson

THOMAS HOWARD EARL OF SUFFOLK

OB 1626

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF CARISBELL

THOMAS HOWARD,

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

JAMES the first, deficient as he was in almost all the qualities of a Sovereign, possessed several virtues. He was naturally kind, grateful, and just, but he knew not how, or cared not, to clothe those dispositions in royal dignity, and he exercised them with the unostentatious simplicity of private life. The great house of Howard, which had of late years furnished so many victims to the frantic barbarity of Henry, or the cruel policy of Elizabeth, became the first object of his care when he mounted the throne. Not with the view of strengthening his own power, for he found the family in a state of great depression; nor on the score of favouritism, for he never entertained any member of it in that capacity; nor to gain an accession of wisdom to his councils, since Elizabeth had bequeathed to him an ample choice of able ministers; but in a beneficent desire to compensate for past injuries, and in gratitude to the memory of one whose life had been prematurely sacrificed to the cause of his unhappy mother.

The nobleman who will be the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son of the illustrious and ill-fated person to whom I allude, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, by his second Duchess, Margaret, daughter and sole heir to Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden. He was born in 1561, and at the age of eleven years succeeded to the inheritance of his mother's estates. Elizabeth, with tardy justice, allowed her Parliament in 1585 to release him from the attainder in which his father's sentence had involved him, and he immediately embraced the profession of arms, which at that time comprehended naval with military service. In 1588 he commanded a ship in the fleet which, under the orders of his

kinsman, Charles, Lord Effingham, defeated the memorable Spanish Armada, and was knighted for his gallantry in that great action. In 1591, having been cruising for six months in the neighbourhood of the Azores, in company with four other ships, in the view of intercepting the Spanish plate fleet, his little squadron was unexpectedly attacked by a vast force which had sailed from Spain, with secret orders to convoy the treasure. In this unequal combat, of which an exact account is given by Camden, in his life of Elizabeth, the bravery of an English sailor never shone more conspicuously than in the Lord Thomas Howard, who was prevented from devoting himself to certain death only by the prudent disobedience of the master of his ship. He commanded one of the divisions of the fleet in Essex's expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, as he did again in the following year in a projected attack on the Spanish navy, in its harbours of Ferrol and Corunna, which was afterwards diverted to other objects, and in the end, owing to adverse weather, and perhaps yet more to the jealousy between Essex and Raleigh, proved nearly abortive. In all these services, however, his merit was highly distinguished, and, on his return from the last, Elizabeth gave him the order of the Garter, and about the same time appointed him Constable of the Tower. He had been in the preceding year summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden.

James, before he entered London, received him into the Privy Council, on the twenty-first of July, 1603, advanced him to the dignity of Earl of Suffolk, and soon after appointed him Lord High Chamberlain. It was this nobleman who, in the execution of one of the duties of that office, discovered in the vault under the House of Peers the materials which had been concealed there for the gunpowder treason; and the detection of that plot, so frequently ascribed to the King's superior acuteness, arose, as is proved by one of the Secretary's letters preserved in Winwood's Memorials, out of the sagacious inferences drawn by the Earl and Secretary Cecil, from Lord Monteagle's mysterious paper. In 1613

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and in 1615, as he was again in 1617, nominated one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal. On the eleventh of July, 1614, he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of England.

He held that great office scarcely more than four years; for in 1618 he was charged with having embezzled a great part of the money received from the Dutch for the cautionary towns, deprived of his staff, and committed, together with his Countess, to the Tower. The guilt was chiefly ascribed to the rapacity of that lady, and the Earl was in a great measure acquitted by the public judgment of all but the imprudence of concealing her faults. "The Earl," says Carte, an historian who always took great pains to discover the truth, "was in the general opinion of the world deemed guiltless of any considerable misdemeanor; but his Countess had rendered herself very odious by extorting money from all persons who had any matters to dispatch at the Treasury; Sir John Bingley, the Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, being the chief agent in making her bargains." Wilson, too, a writer never inclined to palliate the faults of James's Court or government, tells us that "the Earl, being a man of a noble disposition, though too indulgent to his too active wife, had retained the King's favour if he had taken Sir Edward Coke's counsel, and submitted, and not strove to justify his own integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of confidence till it was too late, for then his submission did him little good; but, his wife's faults being imputed to him, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and imprisonment in the Tower." But the negative evidence in the Treasurer's favour afforded by the total silence on the subject of the arch-libeller of that reign, Sir Anthony Welden, who was the bitter enemy in particular too of the favourite Somerset, (the Earl's son in law) and all his connections, tend perhaps more to lighten the charge against him than either of the direct apologies above cited.

It is clear indeed, from the tardiness and moderation with

which the proceedings against the Earl were carried on that very little resentment was entertained against him, either by the King or the public. He was removed from his office of Lord Treasurer on the nineteenth of July, 1618, and immediately retired into the country, where he seems to have remained for more than six months. Between the twentieth and thirtieth of March, in the following year, he was several times examined, and obtained leave to go to his seat of Audley End, but without his lady. It was not till the third of August following that a full enquiry was ordered; and he was not publicly accused in the Star-chamber till the twentieth of October. On the thirteenth of November he received his sentence of fine and imprisonment, was committed to the Tower on the twentieth; released, after nine days confinement; and received by James with kindness in the month of January, 1620. I find in the Harleian collection, without dates, two original letters, hitherto I believe unpublished, from this nobleman to the King, which throw a strong light on several circumstances of his case. It appears pretty clearly from the first, which was evidently written at an early stage of the enquiry, that he had not till then entertained any expectation of being brought to trial; and this confidence alone affords no mean inference of his innocence.

GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

In this grevous tyme of my being barred from your presence, which to me ys the greatest afflyction that can lye upon me, and knowing by my former servyse to you the sweet and pryncely noble dysposition that ys in you naturally, together with that unmatched judgment which the world knowes you have, ys the ocasion that I presume at this tyme to lay before your Ma^{tie} my most humble sute, which ys that you wolde be pleased to looke upon the case of your poore servaunt, who after so many faythfull desyers of mine to do you servyse, (I do not say that success hath fallen out as I wysshed) shold now not only have suffered for

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

my weaknes and errours, but must be further questioned, to my dysgrace. I wolde to God your Ma^{tie} dyd truly understand the thoughts of my hart; and yf ther you could fynd one, the least, of yll affections to you, I wysh yt pulled out of my body.

Now, to add to my meseryes, geve me leave to let your Ma^{tie} knowe the hard estate I am in, for I do owe at thys present, I dare avow upon my fydelity to you, lytle less then forty thousand pounds, which I well knowe wyll make me and myne poore and mesarable for ever. All this I do not lay downe to your Ma^{ties} best judging eyes that I meane this by way of complaynt; for I do acknowledge the reason your Ma^{tie} had to do what you did; neither do I goo about to excuse errours to have escapt me, but wyll now and ever acknowledg your gracious favourable dealing with me, yf you wylbe pleased now to receyve me agayne to your favour, after this just correction, without which I desyer not to injoy fortune of any good, or lyfe in this world; which, in the humblest maner that I can, I begg at your pryncely feete, as

Your Ma^{ties} humblyest,

and loyall seruant and subject,

T. SUFFOLKE.

He put in a plea, which indeed is virtually urged in this letter, of inability to pay his fine; and James, as Carte remarks, "perhaps rather to punish a distrust of his clemency, than with any strong suspicion of deceit, commissioned the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to enquire into his estate." It has been said, that he had previously conveyed a great part of it to his brother, Sir William Howard, and his son in law, the Earl of Salisbury. It is very unlikely that such a transaction should have escaped discovery by the commissioners; and it is certain that if they did discover it, they abused their trust by concealing it; for the King, after having received their report, mitigated the Earl's fine to seven thousand pounds. A very severe mortification, however, was still reserved for him. The Lord Howard of Walden, his heir, was Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and one of

his younger sons held a place in the Prince's household. He was called on by the King to induce them by his influence to relinquish their employments, and on that occasion addressed to his Majesty the following earnest expostulation; but James had determined to be obeyed: the young men resigned their appointments, and were presently after replaced in them.

MOST GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

Your pryncely favour in delevering me and my wyfe out of the Tower, must and shall ever be acknowledged by us with all humble thanks, and now be pleased to geve me leave to be an humble sutor to your Ma^{ty}, that out of the tender compassion of your pryncely hart, you wylbe pleased to cast your eye upon the meserable estate of your dystressed, afflycted, and owld servant, now brought into feare of recovery of your Ma^{tes} favour, and, so wretched my case ys as the lytle hope that remayned in me to lyve in your memory was my two sonn's servyse to your gracious self, and the Prynce. Yt is now requyred of me to impose upon them the resygnation of their places, which, wyth all humylytie I beseech you to geve me leave to say, I wolde sooner use m^y power over them to wyll them to bury themselves quicke, than by any other way than inforcement to geve up their places of servyse, which onely remayns to me to be either my dying comfort, or my lyving torment. Besydes, they are now past my goverment, being both married, and have children; only I have a paternall care of them, which I most humbly beseech your best-judging Ma^{tie} respectyvely to way how unhappy I must of necessitye think myselfe yf I showld be the perswader of that mysfortune to my chyldren, that ther chyldren within a few years wolde curse me for, either lyving or dead,

Upon all thes just considerations, most gracious Master, geve me leave to turn my cruell and unnaturall part of perswading them to yeld to that for which I should detest myself to my humblyest desyer, upon the knees of my hart to begg humbly of

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

your Ma^{tie} that whatsoever favor you have ever had to me for any servyse done that your Ma^{tie} wylbe pleased to spare the ruyn of these two young men, whom I fynd so honestly dysposed in ther desier of spending ther fortunes and lyves in your Ma^{tie}'s and your pryncely sonn's servyse, as yf your dyspleasure be not fully satisfyed with what I have suffered already, that you lay more upon me, and spare them. I have written to my Lord of Buckyngham to be my mediator to your Ma^{tie} in this behalfe, which I assure myself he wyll nobly performe, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my means to your Ma^{tie} in obtayning this great begunn favour. To conclude, with my prayer to God that your Ma^{tie} may ever fynd the same zeale and love to your person in whomsoever you shall imploy that my hart's sole affection dyd, and ever shall, cary unto you; which God knowes was and ys more to your Ma^{tie} then to my wyfe and chyldren, and all other worldly things; which God measure to me acording unto the truth, as

Your Ma^{tie}'s humble subject and servaunt,

T. SUFFOLKE.

He was said to lean to what was called the Spanish faction, a charge indeed which was laid indiscriminately against almost all James's ministers and courtiers. Here too the scandalous Welden, whose natural malignity gives to his very forbearance the character of praise, seems inclined to spare him, and to condemn the conduct of the Countess. "The constable of Castile," says he, "so plied his master's business, in which he spared no cost, that he procured a peace so advantageous for Spain, and so disadvantageous for England, that it, and all Christendom, have since both seen and felt the lamentable effect thereof. There was not one courtier of note that tasted not of Spain's bounty, either in gold or jewels; and among them not any in so large a proportion as the Countess of Suffolk; who shared in her Lord's interest, being then a potent man, and in that interest which she had in being mistress to the little great secretary (Cecil) the sole

manager of state affairs; so it may be said she was a double sharer; and in truth, Audley End, that great and famous structure, had its foundation in Spanish gold." Welden, when he uttered this last malicious assertion, well knew that the Earl derived his means of building that palace, once the glory of the County of Essex, and still, in its present state of curtailment, a magnificent mansion, from the sale of estates in the North of England, then annually let for ten thousand pounds. The building of Audley End is said to have cost one hundred and ninety thousand.

The Earl of Suffolk died at his house at Charing Cross, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1626, and was buried at Walden, in Essex. His character has been but imperfectly handed down to us; his enemies have found little to censure in his conduct; and his friends have forbore to descant on his merits, probably in the fear of provoking those invectives which may be always so easily cast on the memory of a fallen statesman. His genius and his temper seem to have been such as to qualify him rather for warlike than political service, and he was a great favourite with military men. The author of the "Honorable voyage to Cadiz," published in Hackluyt's collection, says "the Vice-Admiral, Sir Thomas Howard's exceeding great magnanimity, courage, and wisdom, joyned with such an honorable kind of sweet curtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me and my weaknes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull loving hearts of as many as ever had any maner of dealing with him." He was singularly unfortunate in his wife, and in two of his children; for they were not only culprits of different casts, but their faults were such as made it necessary to expose them by public investigation; and these domestic calamities fell the heavier on him, because he was a most kind father and husband, and because perhaps they might be traced to a monstrous and perverted effect of his own indulgence.

He was twice married, but by his first lady, Mary, daughter

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

and coheir of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, he had no children. His second Countess, of whom so much has been said, was Catherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, in Wilts, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich, one of the most celebrated beauties of her time. By her he had a numerous issue ; of whom, Theophilus, his heir, who had been, during his father's life, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden, succeeded to the Earldom. Thomas, the second son, inherited the estates of his mother's family in Wiltshire ; was created in 1621, Lord Howard of Charlton, and Viscount Andover, and in 1653, when attending Charles the Second in his exile, Earl of Berkshire. From this nobleman all the Earls of Suffolk, &c. since the extinction in 1745 of the male issue of Earl Theophilus, have been descended. The third son, Henry, inherited under the will of his great uncle, Henry, Earl of Northampton, a considerable part of that nobleman's large property, and acquired by marriage the estates of the ancient family of Bassett, of Blore, in Staffordshire. The fourth, fifth and sixth sons, were Charles, Robert, and William, the two latter of whom were Knights of the Bath ; John, the seventh, died young, and Edward, the eighth, and youngest, who was also a Knight of the Bath, was created by Charles the First, Baron Howard of Escrick, in Yorkshire ; a lordship which came from his mother, as heir to her uncle, Thomas, Lord Knevet, of Escrick, and which became extinct in his grandson. The Earl of Suffolk's daughters were Elizabeth, wife, first to William Knollys Earl of Banbury, and afterwards to Lord Vaux, from which marriages arose the long agitated, and lately decided, question as to the legitimacy of her reputed issue by the first husband. Frances, the frightful circumstances of whose divorce from Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and subsequent marriage to Carr, Earl of Somerset, disfigure the history of the reign in which they occurred : and Catherine, married to William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury.

